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Source: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 43 (1989), pp. 125-226

Published by: [Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University](#)

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The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i

ROBERT W. THOMSON

INTRODUCTION

The thirteenth-century historical composition of Vardan Arewelc'i*—called variously "History" or "Chronicle" in modern times, but "Universal History" or (more accurately) "Historical Compilation" in the earlier manuscripts—is a work frequently cited but little studied. Since the Armenian text was first published a hundred twenty-five years ago, excerpts have been quoted in various studies of Armenian history. But comparatively little attention has been paid to the work as a whole—to the actual sources used by Vardan and the way in which he adapted them, to his scholarly interests and the reasons for his writing this book. Certainly, it lacks the literary polish of the classic works of Armenian historiography; and being primarily a resumé of earlier works it does not have the appeal of the larger-scale histories of medieval times, such as that by Vardan's fellow student Kirakos of Ganjak. Yet a general assessment seems worthwhile and is by no means premature.

The eclectic nature of Vardan's narrative, and the manner in which he sometimes produces a new variant by combining several earlier versions of an event, would seem to militate against his value as a witness to the past. But this very drawback makes his work of particular interest for a study of Vardan's own time. His choice of material indicates the kind of topic that appealed to a thirteenth-century Armenian scholar, while the range of sources used points to the resources of a medieval Armenian library. What follows, therefore, is not an attempt to assess the veracity or reliability of Vardan's *Historical Compilation*. It is rather an effort to discover Vardan's unacknowledged sources—of which there are many—and to show how he put his narrative together.

The *Historical Compilation* is only one of several works by Vardan, a serious though not very original scholar who also wrote numerous biblical commentaries, a study of grammar, and a brief *Geography*. A study of Vardan's literary production as a whole would be an even more worthwhile undertaking, but the main reason for limiting the present enquiry to a single text is a personal one: this study follows others devoted to individual historians and forms part of a general enquiry into Armenian interpretations of the past. As in previous investigations, the translation tries to make Vardan's text intelligible in its own right, and the commentary tries to unravel the sources without pronouncing on their intrinsic value. It remains for another occasion to take up the development of Armenian biblical exegesis.

The *Historical Compilation* of Vardan, written soon after A.D. 1267, is not an unknown text, though some sections have been more thoroughly studied than others. In 1851 Brosset published extracts in French translation in the supplementary studies to his rendering of the *Georgian Chronicles*.¹ In 1860 Dulaurier published extracts dealing with the Mongol period.² In 1861 the full text was published in Moscow by J.-B. Emin with a Russian translation.³ And in 1862 Brosset wrote a thirty-page critical analysis of that edition and translation.⁴ The same year a second edition of the Ar-

¹There are several quotations in M. F. Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851).

²E. Dulaurier, "Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens, extrait de l'histoire universelle de Vartan," *JA*, ser. 5, 16 (1860), 273–322.

³J.-B. Emin, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean, Vseobschaja Istorija Vardana Velikogo* (Moscow, 1861).

⁴M. Brosset, "Analyse critique de l'Histoire de Vardan," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, ser. 7, 4, no. 9 (1862), 1–30.

*Armenian words are transliterated according to the system used in the *REArm*.

menian text, based on different manuscripts, was printed in Venice.⁵

Since 1862 attention has been given only to certain sections of Vardan's work. Thus in 1869 the part dealing with Cilicia and the Crusades was published with translation in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*.⁶ In 1927 Muyldermans published the section dealing with the period of Muslim domination in Armenia, with translation and critical notes.⁷ In 1952 Garitte published long quotations in his commentary to the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, which deals with the split between the Armenian and Greek churches.⁸ The sections dealing with the history of the city of Ani were used by Minorsky in 1953.⁹ More recently the long quotation from Mkhitar of Ani on the origin of the Seljuqs has been studied by Kouymjian;¹⁰ and Ant'abyan has written on the lost sources used by Vardan and has given a general survey of the more important earlier writers he used.¹¹ The following translation, however, is the first into a Western European language and the commentary is the first attempt to tackle the work as a whole.¹² Brosset was primarily interested in the value of Vardan for the dating of historical events; his study remains the only prior critique of the work as a whole, but it does not address the prime concern of the present enquiry.

The *Historical Compilation* of Vardan falls into the category of chronicles rather than of histories in the early Armenian style. From the fifth century of the Christian era historical writing was popular in Armenia. Although most works dealt with a

fairly short period, or with the fortunes of a particular noble family, beginning with Movsēs Xorenac'i some historians offered a grander sweep, tracing Armenian ancestries back to the biblical genealogies of Noah's three sons. Not all writers adopted a continuous narrative; some preferred short chapters that dealt with discrete events. After Step'anos of Tarōn (Asoḡik), writing at the beginning of the eleventh century, more and more historians followed this tendency. Vardan takes brevity in historical writing to the extreme of giving the history of Armenia from the creation of the world down to A.D. 1267 in just 164 pages of text.¹³ The narrative is not evenly spaced: the birth of Christ comes on p. 28; the life of Muhammad on p. 63; the rise of the Seljuk Turks on p. 94; the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders on p. 111; and by p. 139 Vardan has reached 1208, the probable decade of his birth. In the last ten pages he describes his own visit to the Mongol Ilkhan Hulagu in 1264.

Although only a small section gives any personal reminiscences, Vardan's *Compilation* is of interest on other counts. Vardan was a learned man who had studied widely, and who played a role in Armenian ecclesiastical affairs. He had visited Cilicia, as well as the East when he saw Hulagu. Among his literary compositions are numerous commentaries on books of the Old Testament, a study of grammar, and a *Geography*. An investigation of his *Historical Compilation* may thus reveal the attitudes of a thirteenth-century Armenian scholar; it will give some idea of which earlier Armenian histories continued to be influential; and its selectivity will point to the special interests of a learned monk, who had studied with one of the most famous teachers of his time (Yovhannēs Vanakan) and who counted among his colleagues another notable historian, Kirakos Ganjakec'i. (The contrast between their two works, written within a few years of each other, would make an intriguing study in its own right, but goes beyond the scope of the present undertaking.) Vardan, then, tells us what the "highlights" of Armenian history were as viewed from a thirteenth-century vantage point.

BRIEF RESUMÉ OF VARDAN'S LIFE AND WORKS

The name Vardan has been so popular in Armenia that frequent confusion of authors bearing

⁵ *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Venice, 1862). The editor, L. Ališan, is not named.

⁶ E. Dulaurier, "Extrait de l'histoire universelle de Vartan le grand," *RHC: Documents arméniens*, I (Paris, 1869), 431–43.

⁷ J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie, extrait de l'Histoire Universelle de Vardan* (Louvain, 1927).

⁸ G. Garitte, *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, CSCO, Subsidia 4 (Louvain, 1952). There are numerous quotations from Vardan throughout.

⁹ V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge Oriental Series 6 (London, 1953).

¹⁰ D. Kouymjian, "Mxit'ar (Mekhitar) of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs," *REArm* 6 (1969), 331–53; idem, "Problems of Medieval and Muslim Historiography: The Mxit'ar of Ani Fragment," *IJMES* 4 (1973), 465–75. Also of importance for the Muslim sources is J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour par M. Canard (Lisbon, 1980).

¹¹ P. Ant'abyan, "Vardan Arewelc'u *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* korac Aḡbiwrnerē," *Sion* 53 (1979), 265–69, and 54 (1980), 24–30. Idem, "Vardan Arewelc'u *Patmut'ean Aḡbyurnerē*," *BM* 14 (1984), 78–105.

¹² The text translated here is that of the Venice 1862 edition. For details of the MSS used, see below, pp. 128–29.

¹³ References throughout are to the pages of the Venice 1862 edition; these page numbers have been reproduced in the English translation, and the notes are numbered to them.

this name is almost inevitable. Down to the eighteenth century 291 examples of persons called Vardan are listed by Ačařyan; our author is no. 113.¹⁴ This Vardan is usually called *Arewelc'i* ("from the East"), although his actual birthplace is unknown, or simply *mec* ("great").

The date of his birth is also unknown. It may plausibly be put in the first decade of the thirteenth century. For by 1239/40 he was of mature age on returning to Cilicia from a pilgrimage to the holy sites of Jerusalem; and there is no evidence that he was unusually old—that is, much over seventy—when he finished his *Historical Compilation*, which runs to A.D. 1267. He was vigorous enough to travel to meet the Ilkhan Hulagu in 1264, and had hoped to repeat the journey. Vardan died in 1271.¹⁵

Vardan mentions that he and Kirakos Ganjakec'i were pupils of the "glorious father" Vanakan *vardapet*,¹⁶ who died at a ripe old age in 1251. But no further details of his early training are given in any source. From Kirakos we can glean a number of facts about Vardan's maturer years. Following a council held in Sis, capital of Cilician Armenia, in 1243 the Catholicos Constantine wrote an encyclical letter on moral and spiritual affairs. This was sent to various regions of Greater Armenia in the charge of Vardan, who had arrived in Cilicia from Jerusalem and had made a very favorable impression on the Catholicos and on King Het'um. Kirakos himself does not date Vardan's arrival in Cilicia, but Constantine's letter refers to the fact that Vardan had arrived "from your regions"—that is, from Greater Armenia—five years previously, and it calls Vardan a *vardapet*.¹⁷

The date of Vardan's journey back to Greater Armenia with the encyclical letter is not given by Kirakos. Vardan spent some time going around the various provinces with the letter and canonical regulations of Constantine. After it was signed by numerous bishops, abbots, and princes, including the Catholicos of the Ałuank' and Vanakan *vardapet*, Vardan sent the document back to the Catholicos Constantine at his see in Hrom-klay. He then

retired to the hermitage of Saint Andrew in the valley of Kayan, where he remained to give instruction to many who came to study. Kirakos notes that this occurred in the year before 1247.¹⁸

During his first visit to Cilicia Vardan had composed a *Commentary on Grammar* at the request of King Het'um; this is dated between 1244 and 1246.¹⁹ To the same period may be dated a *Miscellany on Passages of Scripture* written for King Het'um.²⁰

Following his sojourn at the hermitage of Saint Andrew in Greater Armenia, Vardan must have returned to Cilicia. For in 1248 he played a role in the translation into Armenian of the Syriac *Chronicle* of Patriarch Michael.²¹ Yet by 1251 he was back in Greater Armenia. In that year there was a theological dispute between Armenians and Catholics on the matter of the procession of the Son. Kirakos notes that the Catholicos Constantine wrote to Vanakan, Vardan, and others "in the East"—that is, Greater Armenia—requesting their views. In his own work Vardan refers to the dispute and to the request of Constantine for Vanakan's opinion, but omits any mention of himself. The dispute clearly was of some moment, for Kirakos gives his own confession of faith and adds a chapter giving Vanakan's opinion; this precedes the section in his *History* describing the life of Vanakan and his death in that same year of 1251.²²

Vardan seems to have spent the rest of his life in Greater Armenia, save for a visit to the Ilkhan Hulagu in Iran in 1264. That decade was the most active in his theological career. In 1260 at the monastery of Xor-Virap he wrote a personal copy of three works by Gregory of Nyssa: *On the Nature of Man*, *On the Formation of Man*, and *On Virginity*.²³ (In fact the first of these is by Nemesius, but the attribution to Gregory was standard in Armenian tradition.) The following year he composed a commentary on the Pentateuch.²⁴ A longer commentary on the books of the Old Testament from

¹⁸ Kirakos, pp. 310–11.

¹⁹ L. G. Xaç'eryan, *Vardan Arewelc'i: Meknuč'iwn K'erakani* (Erevan, 1972).

²⁰ First published by E. Prud'homme, "Extraits du livre intitulé Solutions de passages de l'Écriture sainte, écrites à la demande de Héthoum I, roi d'Arménie, par le vardapet Vardan," *JA*, ser. 6, 9 (1867), 147–204. See now P. Ant'abyan, "Vardan Arewelc'u 'Jlank'ē," *BM* 8 (1967), 157–81.

²¹ See the colophon dated to 1248 in the 1870 Jerusalem edition of Michael, also printed in A. S. Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jerağeri Hišatakaraner XIII dar* (Erevan, 1984), pp. 243–48.

²² Kirakos, pp. 330–44; Vardan, p. 48.

²³ Mat'evosyan, p. 402.

²⁴ Mat'evosyan, p. 307.

¹⁴ H. Ačařyan, *Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Bařaran* (= *Dictionary of Names*), 5 vols. (Erevan, 1942–62; repr. Beirut, 1972). See vol. V, 74–107.

¹⁵ Most of what is known about Vardan's life and works has been collected in the brief work of H. Oskean, *Yovhannēs Vanakan ew iwr dproč'ē* (Vienna, 1922). The section on Vardan first appeared as articles in *HA* 35 (1921), 344–74, 458–71, 564–73.

¹⁶ Vardan, p. 164.

¹⁷ Kirakos, pp. 294–98. For Constantine's letter see also L. Xaç'ikyan, "Kostandin Barjrbērdc'u xrtakan t'utē, ařak'vac Arewelyan Hayastan, 1251 t'vakanin," *BM* 4 (1958), 267–84.

Genesis to Kings is of unknown date. This latter is a florilegium, based on numerous earlier authors.²⁵

In 1265 Vardan was at the monastery of Haibat, where he wrote a *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. This takes the form of a catena, with the quotations from earlier texts identified by author.²⁶ The following year Vardan finished a *Commentary on the Psalms*; this is more literal than the typological exposition of Nerses of Lambron written in the previous century.²⁷ A *Commentary on Daniel* was begun in 1267 back at the monastery of Xor-Virap, and finished the next year at the monastery of Ałc'oc'.²⁸ As with the *Historical Compilation* these commentaries take the form of collections and arrangements of material rather than original compositions. What they may lack in originality is compensated for by their importance as evidence for the general level of scholarship in thirteenth-century Armenia, the books that were known and studied, and the ideas and interpretations that were accepted as the norm.

A *Geography* is also attributed to Vardan. Although some manuscripts of the longer recension include a reference to the site of Vardan's tomb—which would indicate that the text could not have come from Vardan's own hand—this longer recension derives from a shorter version. The fact that some manuscripts have various later interpolations does not necessarily invalidate the general ascription (at least of the shorter version) to Vardan found in the manuscripts. The work, only the second Geography to be written in Armenian, is a very sketchy presentation of place names, primarily devoted to Armenia and the Caucasus. There are even briefer descriptions of other countries in the Middle East and Europe at the end.²⁹ A collection of Fables appears under the name of Vardan. Most modern scholars attribute this to Vardan Aygekci, a younger contemporary of our Vardan.³⁰

²⁵ Oskean, pp. 59–60. For a lengthy description see J. Dashian, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1895), no. 229 = pp. 592–96.

²⁶ Mat'evosyan, pp. 332–33; description in Dashian, no. 45. Fragments have been published in G. N. Bonwetsch, *Hippolyts Kommentar zum Hohenlied*, TU, N.F. 8, 2 (Leipzig), 90–108.

²⁷ Mat'evosyan, p. 344; Oskean, pp. 61–62. Nersēs' Commentary is unpublished; that of Vardan, published in Astrakhan in 1797, was not available to me.

²⁸ Mat'evosyan, p. 365. The text has been published in Nersēs Lambronac'i, *Meknu'w'n srboc' erkotasan margarēic'*, ed. A. Narianean (Constantinople, 1825), pp. 242–80.

²⁹ See the Introduction to H. Pērpērean, *Aṣṣarhac'oyc' Vardanay Vardapeti* (Paris, 1960).

³⁰ N. Marr, *Sborniki Pritch Vardana*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1894–99); Y. Anasean, "Vardan Aygekci'n, norayayt erkeri loysitak," *B* 126 (1968), 233–71, repr. separately (Venice, 1969).

In addition to these scholarly works Vardan composed numerous theological eulogies (on the Mother of God, John the Baptist, the Holy Cross, Gregory the Illuminator, John of Ojun, among others) and many hymns.³¹

Vardan's travels to various monasteries of Greater Armenia in the last decade of his life are not easy to elucidate. Passing references in other writers indicate that in addition to residing for a while at the hermitage of Saint Andrew, he was active at Xor-Virap and Haibat (as already noted) and also at Glajor.³² This last was to become the most famous center of learning in medieval Armenia in the following century.

Vardan died in 1271 and was buried at Xor-Virap.³³

VARDAN'S "HISTORICAL COMPILATION"

The Manuscripts

The *Historical Compilation* of Vardan has survived in a number of manuscripts, two of which were written within a generation of Vardan's death. The first printed edition of the text, that by Emin in Moscow 1861, was based on two manuscripts: one undated, and one copied in 1514 from an earlier example dated to 1425. The second edition, that by Ališan published in Venice in 1862, was based on the oldest surviving manuscripts: Venice 516, written by Stephen, metropolitan of Siunik', himself a notable historian. He died in 1304, so this copy of Vardan's work was written less than thirty years after Vardan had finished his *Compilation*, which ends in 1267. The other manuscript used by Ališan, Venice 1244, is precisely dated to 1307. However, it contains the text of Vardan only down to the year 685 (A.D. 1236). Vardan had reached this stage of his work in the year 714 (A.D. 1265); but his book was stolen, and later bought back in Tiflis.³⁴ Venice 1244 was thus copied from an earlier manuscript which did not have the final section written after the original had been recovered.³⁵

Although Ališan's edition is not a critical one in the sense that he provides full and clear guidance to the variants between his two old manuscripts, since these were written within a generation of the composition of Vardan's *Compilation* they provide a

³¹ Oskean, pp. 68–76.

³² Oskean, pp. 46–52.

³³ Mat'evosyan, p. 403; Gregory of Akanc', p. 379. For his tomb see the *Geography*, p. 29.

³⁴ Vardan, p. 161.

³⁵ For these MSS see Muyldermans, pp. 9–20.

reasonably sure text. The other surviving copies are of much later date.

Muyldermans lists in addition to those cited above:

- Vienna 54, dated to 1857
- Venice 350 of the 17th century
- Venice 489, dated to 1669
- Venice 557 of uncertain date
- Venice 780 of the 17th century
- Venice 1402 of the 19th century
- Tiflis: two MSS, one dated to 1425 (that used by Emin as his base MS) and one dated to 1656
- Vatican 30, dated to 1631
- Paris 202, copied in 1850 from the Tiflis MS of 1425
- Tübingen 68, dated to 1656
- Tübingen 70, dated to 1432.

Muyldermans had also noted three manuscripts at Eĵmiacin. From the more recent catalogue of the Matenadaran the list may be expanded:³⁶

- 1482, dated to 1678
- 1487, dated to 1653–57
- 1518, dated to 1594–1600
- 1770, dated to 1589
- 1899, dated to 1676–77
- 3069, dated to 1672
- 3074 of the 15th century
- 3733, dated to 1855
- 4584, dated to 1668
- 6593, dated to 1849
- 6714, dated to 1713
- 8890, dated to 1857.

(The new catalogue does not indicate that Matenadaran 1721, written in 1696 at New Julfa and cited by Muyldermans as Eĵmiacin 1668, also contains the *Historical Compilation* in addition to the *Geography* attributed to Vardan.)

The translation below is made from Ališan's edition, which is based on Venice 516 and notes some of the variant readings of Venice 1244.

Sources³⁷

Although Vardan frequently mentions Armenian scholars and notable theologians, he rarely indicates specifically that he is using any of them as a source. By far the most common way he notes

that he is following a written source is by prefacing the statement with a phrase such as "they say," "others say," or "some say." The authors in question can often be identified (see below). Sometimes Vardan is a little more precise. At the beginning of his *Historical Compilation*, for example, when he is describing the physical world he refers to "philosophers." His arguments are based on ideas in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*, well known in Armenian translation. But in his sole reference to Aristotle by name (p. 4) the direct source is not so clear.

Non-Armenian authors are only occasionally cited. A reference to Africanus (p. 22) does not reflect direct knowledge of that author, but is taken from the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* by the Syrian Patriarch Michael. It was not unusual for Armenian historians to quote Julius Africanus or other authors at second hand; Movsēs Xorenac'i is particularly addicted to this practice. Even in the case of Eusebius of Caesarea, whose *Ecclesiastical History* and *Chronicle* were prime sources for Armenian authors, Vardan has only one direct reference (p. 20); but this too was taken from the *Chronicle* of Michael. From that same work derive Vardan's references to "Apolinos the Hebrew philosopher" (p. 20) and "the Sybil" (p. 21). Vardan's great, but unacknowledged, debt to the Armenian version of Michael will be described in detail below. It stems from his personal involvement in editing the translation made from the Syriac by a Syrian priest Išok in 1248. Vardan once refers to Ephrem (p. 9). The only other non-Armenian author cited is Socrates (p. 44), whose *Ecclesiastical History* had been translated into Armenian in the seventh century.

Even native Armenian sources are only rarely acknowledged by Vardan. When discussing the proliferation of languages following the destruction of the Tower of Babel, he refers to "the holy Ehišē." The passage does not occur in the published works attributed to that famous early Armenian historian; but since there are many unpublished homilies ascribed to Ehišē, the source may yet be discovered in the future. More influential in later generations was the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, which gained currency as the standard account of the Armenian past and the origins of the Armenian nation. Vardan has some (legendary) details about the career of this Movsēs, which are significant for the development of medieval traditions. But only once does he actually quote from Movsēs' *History* (p. 52).

None of the other classic writers from the fifth

³⁶See the general catalogue: O. Eganyan, A. Zeyt'unyan, P. Ant'abyan, *C'uc'ak Jeragrac' Mašt'oc'i Anvan Matenadaran*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1965, 1970).

³⁷In the following section, details provided in the commentary to the translation are not repeated. Since page numbers to the Armenian text and English translation are given, the reader can quickly verify the information.

to the ninth centuries are actually quoted by Vardan, though his indebtedness to many of them will become apparent later. He does, however, name Eznik, Koriun, and Łazar "the historian" (p. 51) when listing the pupils of Sahak and the early translators. Vardan refers to the "holy patriarch Yovhannēs (John)" who was an eyewitness of Muslim oppression at the beginning of the tenth century and "wrote [his *History*] as a memorial for future generations." He also has one direct quotation from the *History* of Asoġik (Step'anos of Tārōn), which was written at the beginning of the eleventh century. Asoġik's work was important to Vardan both as a source of information and as a model; for Asoġik was the first to write in Armenian a history of his country from the days of the Old Testament patriarchs set out in episodic form. Vardan once refers to the establishment by Uxtanēs of a feast celebrating the forty martyrs of Sebaste. But he does not indicate that his source for this and other episodes was that author's own *History*.

Describing the appointment of Tughril as sultan in 1056 Vardan notes that his source is Vahram, son of Tigran. Of this historian nothing is known, and the later Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i refers to him as Vahram Tigranakertc'i (i.e., Vahram from Tigranakert).³⁸ More important for Vardan's knowledge of early Seljuk history and the role of the Turks in the Islamic world was the work of Mxit'ar of Ani. Unfortunately, only the initial part of his *History* survives. Like Asoġik before him and Vardan later, this Mxit'ar began with the descendants of Adam; he then concentrated on the history of Armenia in abbreviated form. Some of his chapters are but lists of names. Mxit'ar, a priest at Ani, flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Vardan also describes in some detail (p. 137) his translation of a Persian treatise on eclipses.

Contemporary with Vardan were Kirakos, famous for a *History* which goes down to 1265, and their common teacher Yovhannēs (John) Vanakan, who died in 1251. Vardan refers explicitly to their detailed accounts of the Mongol period (pp. 146–47). They are also probably intended by his reference to "the detailed writers" who described Hulagu's campaign (p. 151). To a third pupil of Vanakan's, Maġak'ia, a history of the Mongols, the "nation of archers," has been attributed. The attribution may be wrong, in that Grigor of Akanc' is

the apparent author of this work, at the end of which are references to the deaths of Vardan and of Kirakos. There are many parallels between the accounts of Vardan and this *History* of the Mongols which reflect a common experience; Vardan does not name either Maġak'ia or Grigor.

The number of written sources identified by Vardan is thus very meagre. In order to identify those writers to whom he refers as "some," "others," "they," or by a similar phrase, it will be necessary to examine his *Historical Compilation* in greater detail. In Ališan's edition the text has been conveniently divided into one hundred sections. So without duplicating the detail of the commentary to the translation, I shall summarize each section and its sources. In this way a clearer picture of Vardan's concerns and of the way in which he developed his narrative will emerge at the same time as his sources are identified.

The Themes and Sources of Vardan's Historical Compilation

Preface. Vardan opens with a discussion of the nature of God, leading to a description of creation.

There are numerous parallels here with the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, an elaborate theological treatise incorporated in the *History* of Agat'angelos. It takes the form of a catechism, supposedly being the instruction given to King Trdat and the Armenian court before their baptism, but in its final form probably dating from the mid-sixth century. For his etymology of the Armenian word for "God"—*astuac*, as if from *ast acel* (to bring [things into being] here)—Vardan relies on an Armenian tradition going back at least to the tenth century. There are also reminiscences of the Armenian renderings of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo* and of David the Philosopher's *Definitions of Philosophy*, which had had a significant influence on Armenian views of the physical universe.

Although it was usual for Armenian historians to begin their accounts of world history with Adam and his descendants, it was not common to preface an Armenian history with a discussion of the nature of God. A similar introduction is found in the *Geography* attributed to Vardan, and in the *Chronicle* of the fourteenth-century scholar Mxit'ar of Ayrivank'. Vardan is setting a new trend, even if his material is not in itself original.

1. Vardan's description of the physical universe, based on the biblical account of the six days of cre-

³⁸ See the references in Aġariyan, *Dictionary of Names*, V, p. 23 (under Vahram no. 31).

ation, has parallels with many earlier sources. However, Vardan was the first to preface a history in such a manner. The basic idea of the four elements is found throughout Armenian writing on this topic, beginning with the first original philosophical treatise—Eznik's untitled discussion of the nature of God and the problem of free will. Vardan's description of the universe owes much to the traditional genre of the *Hexameron*. His wider interests in philosophy and theology do not have much room for expression in this *Historical Compilation*, so Vardan gives them free play in the introductory sections.

2. Vardan says little about the Fall of Adam and Eve, save to emphasize that God foreknew what would happen yet could not prevent the result of man's free will. He does offer some views about the nature of paradise which have parallels in earlier theological works. But the only other historian to discuss paradise and its location is T'ovma Arcruni; he adduces fabulous tales about distant lands from the *Alexander Romance*. However, T'ovma's *History of the House of the Arcrunik*^c did not enter the mainstream of Armenian historical writing, and Vardan does not draw on the *Alexander Romance*.

With the stories of Adam and Eve's children and their descendants Vardan comes to material of apocryphal origin well known in Armenia. Beginning with Movsēs Xorenac'i Armenian historians had discussed the generations of Old Testament patriarchs. But non-biblical tales from the "uncanonical" books had later also become popular in Armenia. Vardan draws on such material, sometimes directly from documents such as the *Death of Adam*, and more often from the accounts already found in the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*.

3–5. The general course of human history after the death of Adam and Eve is briefly described by many Armenian historians, basing themselves on the succession of patriarchs in Genesis and the elaborations in such works as the *Teaching*. Vardan adds numerous details from Michael's version of these events, details that derive ultimately from apocryphal accounts of Adam's descendants. Vardan devotes less attention than Michael to the division of the world and the settlement of various countries by the descendants of Noah's three sons: the races of Sem, Ham, and Japheth. On the other hand, he greatly elaborates on the construction of the Tower of Babel. Here it is interesting to note

that Vardan is closest to traditions found in the *Georgian Chronicles*. The story of Nimrod and the angel is found in the Armenian adaptation of Juanšēr, but does not occur in Michael. Nor does Michael (either in the original Syriac or in the Armenian adaptation) give details about the various languages that resulted from the fall of the Tower. Vardan notes that the original language (Hebrew) remained with Eber, a theory attacked by Michael. But only earlier Armenian sources give a comparison of Greek, Latin, Syriac, Persian, and other tongues, from which Armenian emerges as the most eloquent and desirable language.

6–7. In turning now to the story of Hayk (the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians) and Bel, Vardan follows the Armenian version of Michael. However, he expands on the brief reference there; and more interestingly, quotes Hayk's insults to Bel from the version found in the *Primary History* and T'ovma Arcruni, rather than from the account in Movsēs Xorenac'i.

Vardan proceeds next to the settlement of Palestine. Abbreviating the details in Michael's *Chronicle*, he introduces the Amazons, who were supposedly contemporary with Abraham and descended from Torgom. Since the Armenians claimed descent from Japheth through Torgom, this gives Vardan the opportunity to introduce further details about the settlement of Armenia taken from Movsēs Xorenac'i. Vardan's interest in Georgia comes out from his reference here to K'art'los and other brothers of Hayk who settled "the North." These heroes of Georgian tradition are not mentioned by Movsēs, but appear in Juanšēr. Later (p. 91) Vardan will refer explicitly to Georgian sources. The long list of descendants of Hayk which Vardan introduces next is based on Movsēs Xorenac'i, whose version had been echoed more or less closely by numerous other Armenian historians before Vardan.

8–13. Vardan continues to follow the basic presentation of Michael with the same equivalence of biblical persons and Babylonian kings. Although this parallelism goes back to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius—to which Vardan refers (p. 20)—Vardan does not himself quote directly this original source, unlike T'ovma Arcruni, for example. Here Vardan gives at some length apocryphal tales about Abraham; these are taken from Michael the Syrian, whose general account Vardan abbreviates down to the time of Moses. And for Moses' own

career Vardan also follows Michael, even at the cost of a discrepancy with his earlier account of the origin of the Hebrew language.

(Since the continuing borrowings from Michael for the history of Israel and the ancient world are spelled out in the commentary, it seems unnecessary to repeat the details here.)

14–15. Vardan now becomes more specifically concerned with Armenian history. Although he continues to use the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of Michael (which for the history of Armenia has expanded on the original Syriac), he now brings in information from original Armenian sources. His prime source is Movsēs Xorenac'i, who was the first to describe the history of the early Armenian kingdoms. Movsēs in turn had greatly relied on Eusebius. But since Xorenac'i's work became authoritative for all later Armenian historians, these generally (but not always) adapted Movsēs rather than going back to the prior non-Armenian accounts.

Vardan does not follow just one source, or even work out a consistent narrative from various sources; he gives alternative accounts of the same event. Thus in describing the organization of the Armenian kingdom effected by Vaṭaršak—based on the long account in Xorenac'i—Vardan adds: “we have heard, and seen in writing, that he was a son of Aršak the Great and not a brother.” This is a reference to the *Primary History*, a short document that is often at variance with Movsēs' version of Armenian history. Vardan goes on to quote from the introduction to this document, where “Agat'angelos” claims that he is its author. But he quickly returns to the narrative of Movsēs, without informing his readers either where “he saw in writing” the *Primary History*, or that Movsēs is his main source.

16. When Vardan reaches the time of the birth of Christ he turns from his narrative of Armenian history to describe the coming of the Three Wise Men. His account of this episode is based on Michael the Syrian and the Armenian *Book of the Infancy of Christ*. Vardan does not acknowledge these, but incorporates details into Movsēs Xorenac'i's account of the reign of Abgar of Edessa. In this way Vardan creates an entirely new version of the coming of the Magi which reflects greater glory on the role of the Armenians. For the story of Abgar's embassy to Jesus and the picture of Christ which was brought back to Edessa, Vardan follows Asoṭik

rather than the earlier accounts of Movsēs or Labubna.

17. For the descendants of Abgar, the conflict between Eruand and Artašēs, and succeeding events down to the Sasanian revolution in Iran, Vardan abbreviates Movsēs Xorenac'i and Asoṭik. The history of Armenia after Artašir of Stahr became king in Persia was described by Agat'angelos. But Vardan does not quote from this account, preferring to follow his usual sources, Movsēs and Asoṭik.

More interesting is Vardan's reliance on the version of Saint Gregory's early life as given by Zenob. The latter is not mentioned by name, but his elaborations on the earlier traditions found in Agat'angelos and Movsēs were known to the historian Uxtanēs, who in turn had added some details that Vardan repeats. The sequel to Zenob, John Mamikonean's *History of Taron*, also served Vardan for details of Saint Gregory's later career.

18. Vardan interrupts his account of Armenian history at this point in order to bring in a brief list of Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Diocletian. This is abbreviated from Michael, and has a parallel in Asoṭik.

19. In this section Vardan indicates his source, though not directly. The martyrdom of the forty saints of Sebaste was celebrated on the 15th of Areg. Vardan claims that Uxtanēs had established the festival, as indeed Uxtanēs in his *History* indicates. Also from Uxtanēs is the tale of the crown of King David which had come down to Shah Šapuh, and of which Emperor Constantine cheated the Persian king.

20–22. For the history of the Armenian kings who succeeded Trdat, first described by P'awstos Buzand, Vardan does not generally go back to the original source but follows the version in Movsēs Xorenac'i or the later Asoṭik. Some details, however, not repeated by these two writers, indicate that Vardan was not unfamiliar with P'awstos. Contemporaneous events in the eastern Roman Empire are also introduced; for these Vardan continues to rely on Michael's *Chronicle*, although he does refer to Socrates, who “praises” Emperor Jovian.

Vardan then turns to the ecclesiastical history of fourth-century Armenia. Although P'awstos was the first source for this, followed by Movsēs and

Asoġik, Vardan shows greater reliance on the *History* of the tenth-century Yovhannēs Catholicos. The latter, as patriarch of Armenia, was naturally interested in questions of religious authority. Vardan abbreviates his discussion of the international standing of the various patriarchates and of the order within the church of the nine sacramental ranks—not without some variations.

23–24. As Vardan proceeds, his method of selection becomes more eclectic. Some nine hundred years separate him from events of the fourth century, and during that time numerous Armenian authors had had a chance to make their own selections from, and interpretations of, the basic Armenian source, P^{awstos} Buzand. So sometimes Vardan follows P^{awstos} directly, at other times he is closer to Movsēs Xorenacⁱ, Yovhannēs Catholicos, or Asoġik. And a detail from one may be incorporated in an account based on another.

This eclectic method makes for a disconnected narrative. Movsēs had concentrated on giving an orderly presentation, his original source being itself rather disjointed and uncertain in its chronology. Yovhannēs Catholicos had emphasized ecclesiastical history. Asoġik's version is closer in method to Vardan's, but is less succinct. Nonetheless, Vardan is not as disconnected as Samuēl of Ani, whose *Chronicle* sets out events in tables following the pattern of Eusebius' *Canons*.

25. When he comes to the invention of the Armenian script by Maštoc^ĉ, Vardan has further sources at his disposal. The basic source for the life and work of Maštoc^ĉ is the biography by his pupil Koriun. Vardan twice mentions Koriun as one of Maštoc^ĉ pupils who had been active in translating books from Greek after the invention of a script for the Armenian tongue. But he says nothing of the original biography by Koriun or of his master's life. Koriun's text was used and adapted by later historians whom Vardan used: Movsēs Xorenacⁱ, Yovhannēs Catholicos, and Asoġik. It is therefore not surprising that again Vardan excerpts different details from the various sources and puts them together to make a new narrative. He attests to a local tradition that celebrated the actual site of the invention of the script at Mount Balu—a tradition not mentioned by the earlier historians—and offers an etymology of Maštoc^ĉ other name Mesrop, "verdant" (also unattested elsewhere), which seems to derive from a parallel with Arabic *masrur*, "fertile."

Armenian literature developed extremely rapidly in the generation following the invention of the script at the beginning of the fifth century. Maštoc^ĉ and the patriarch Sahak organized groups of young men who were sent abroad to learn Syriac and Greek and then put to the task of translating texts from these languages into Armenian. That generation of translators also included men who composed the first original works in Armenian, among which Eznik's treatise on God and free will and Koriun's biography of Maštoc^ĉ stand out. However, by a process of associating famous scholars with the great master, later writers began to introduce into that circle of first translators various subsequent authors, or persons of unknown date famous only for texts attributed to them. Vardan's account is not very clear—or at least, his precise intention is not clear. He mentions those pupils of the master to whom Koriun refers, and adds to the first group two persons named by the historian Łazar Parp^{ec}i (writing at the end of the fifth century). He then adds two other groups who went abroad "later." The implication of his phrasing is that Sahak also sent them; but his wording is justifiably unclear since the third group supposedly included Łazar himself, who flourished long after Sahak's death.

26–27. Turning back to the succession of kings and patriarchs in early fifth-century Armenia, Vardan here bases his account on Movsēs Xorenacⁱ, whom he mentions by name. He indicates a variation in the length of tenure or in the order of patriarchs in his usual fashion—"some say." This refers to comments in Asoġik and Yovhannēs Catholicos not found in earlier sources or at variance with them.

The historian Vardan places great emphasis on his namesake Vardan Mamikonean who led resistance to Sasanian policies in Armenia in the mid-fifth century. The classic versions of the Armenian revolt and of Vardan's death at the battle of Avarayr in 451 are found in Eġiše and Łazar. Vardan had earlier referred to "Łazar the historian," and to Eġiše as a pupil of Sahak's, yet his account of the war is taken from the later version known to Yovhannēs Catholicos and T^{ovma} Arcruni. These historians associated the fifth-century revolt led by Vardan Mamikonean with the overthrow of a Zoroastrian fire temple established in Dvin by the apostate Vndoy. However, Dvin and the fire temple figure in the revolt of 572 which was led (unsuccessfully) by a later Vardan Mamikonean.

The historian Vardan ignores the early versions of the first Vardan Mamikonean's revolt, which was a brief affair of two seasons culminating in the battle of Avarayr. Instead, he claims that Vardan waged war for nineteen years and fought forty-two battles. Yet he does say that 1,232 Armenians, companions of Vardan, were martyred "as we can learn in the extensive histories." This is close to the figure of 1,036 given by Eḡišē and Łazar for those who fell at Avarayr.

28. Of even later origin is Vardan's version of the Armenian struggle against Greek theology. He claims that Movsēs [Xorenac'i] and David [the Philosopher] actually debated with Greek theologians at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). For the confession of faith of that council first brought to Armenia was "contrary to the traditions of the holy fathers," and "Movsēs and David went to see if it might be possible to help orthodoxy." Vardan claims that "such an account is found with us." After the time of Asoḡik, writing soon after the year 1000, various traditions did develop concerning David the Philosopher, his association with Movsēs Xorenac'i, and their common interest in combating the errors of the Greeks. Colophons of the thirteenth century claim that David and Movsēs refuted the Greeks at the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), while the fourteenth-century historian Step'anos Orbelean says that David was present at Chalcedon. Vardan's version is idiosyncratic in its details, but fits into a general pattern of defense for Armenian orthodoxy that gained ground after the twelfth century.

29–30. When he returns to the political history of Armenia following the "death of our holy martyrs"—that is, those who fell at Avarayr or were martyred in captivity—Vardan follows closely the *History* of Łazar. As usual, he does not specify his source. Only when discussing the length of time that Vahan Mamikonean, nephew of the martyred Vardan, ruled Armenia does he give a variant account: "some say that Vahan was prince for 20 years, others for 31." Asoḡik had given 30 years, but the figure 31 agrees with Samuēl of Ani. Since Łazar's *History* ends with the appointment of Vahan, for events of the sixth century Vardan follows Yovhannēs Catholicos or Asoḡik, sometimes combining the two.

In somewhat greater detail Vardan describes the rupture between the Armenian and Georgian churches and the role of K'iwriion who accepted the Council of Chalcedon. He has taken his ac-

count from the *History* of Uxtanēs, a document of uncertain date whose author claims to be writing at the end of the tenth century.

31. The long war between Byzantium and Iran at the end of the sixth century had been described in some detail by Sebēos. Vardan does not follow this account consistently, but adds details from the later Yovhannēs Catholicos, particularly when dealing with ecclesiastical affairs. Out of place he inserts a brief section on the *marzpan*s (Persian governors) of Armenia before the time of Maurice and the retreat of the second Vardan Mamikonean to Constantinople. This is abbreviated from Asoḡik.

32–33. Returning to the war against Iran and the campaigns of Heraclius, Vardan continues to rely on Sebēos and Yovhannēs Catholicos, with certain details added from Asoḡik. But when he comes to the career of Muhammad and the rise of Islam Vardan turns to other sources.

34. Before Vardan several Armenian historians had described the origin of Islam. Sebēos concentrated on the military campaigns and expansion of the Islamic polity. T'ovma Arcruni was the first to give a long description (not a particularly flattering one) of Muhammad's own career and of the religious traditions he established. Movsēs Dasxuranc'i treated the same matters; while Mxit'ar of Ani gives the most elaborate account, concentrating on a (distorted) presentation of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and of themes from the Quran. Vardan's own account begins with a selection of information from various earlier sources. But when he turns to the religious practices of Islam and their origins he follows the same source used by Mxit'ar of Ani. This was an Armenian version of a document originally composed in Karshuni, which purports to be based on the written account of a converted Muslim who knew an eyewitness of Muhammad's career. The date of the Armenian version is unknown; the earliest surviving manuscript was written in 1273. Mxit'ar of Ani wrote in the twelfth century, and before him no other author quotes this text.

35–39. After this excursion into theological polemics, Vardan returns to the early Muslim conquests. As before, Sebēos and Yovhannēs Catholicos are his main sources. Sebēos' own work ends with the accession of Muawiya to the caliphate in 661. The subsequent period of Muslim domina-

tion in Armenia was described by Łewond. But although Vardan has taken certain items from the latter (as usual, without acknowledgment), for the seventh century he primarily keeps to the version in Yovhannēs, sometimes turning to Asofik's abbreviation of the earlier authors.

Only when he comes to the supposed correspondence between Emperor Leo III and Caliph Umar II does Vardan quote at length from Łewond. The short query of Umar's and the lengthy reply by Leo are found in the text of Łewond, though they are not authentic and were probably interpolated later. The tenth-century T'ovma Arcruni has a reference (without quotation) to the letter, as does Vardan's contemporary Kirakos. But Vardan is the first to quote from the correspondence found in the *History* of Łewond. Following this, Vardan continues to use Łewond as his prime source for the Muslims and their policies in Armenia.

40. Turning to the succession of patriarchs in Armenia, Vardan goes back to his prime source for ecclesiastical history—Yovhannēs Catholicos.

41–42. Vardan has now reached the point where Łewond's *History* ends. For his account of Armenian-Muslim interaction in the early ninth century Vardan's source is unclear. Other surviving Armenian historical texts do not discuss the career of Jahap, who seized Dvin. Nor do other Armenian sources given an account of the death of Emperor Leo V, whose murder by Michael II and his conspirators is described by Theophanes Continuatus. According to Vardan this took place at Easter, whereas Theophanes says it happened at Christmas. Whether the mistake is Vardan's own, or was already in his unknown source, cannot be determined. Vardan's account of the revolt of Baban is closest to that in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, but not identical.

43. In his exposition Vardan continually intersperses political and military events with notable ecclesiastical happenings. He concentrates on the succession of patriarchs, with further references to men of learning and piety or to notable martyrs. His prime source is Yovhannēs Catholicos. But since writers between the times of Yovhannēs and Vardan had earlier abbreviated the former's account (e.g., Asofik or Samuēl of Ani), Vardan sometimes uses these intermediaries rather than Yovhannēs himself. Thus when describing the martyrdom of Atom by Bugha in A.D. 853, Vardan is closer to Asofik's shorter version than to the long

exposition in Yovhannēs. Yet in the next paragraph he derives the Sewordik^c from an ancestor Sewuk, to whom only Yovhannēs Catholicos had previously made reference.

At this point Yovhannēs Catholicos had noted that he was drawing on the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni. This important source for ninth-century Armenia is totally lost; it is therefore impossible to know whether Vardan knew it directly, since he never mentions it. But one may speculate that in describing the end of the Mamikonean family, the main rivals to Bagratid supremacy in central and northern Armenia—a passage unattested in other sources—Vardan very likely used Šapuh as his source. This is especially plausible since Vardan immediately proceeds to describe the origin of the Bagratid kings of Armenia and Georgia in a passage that has no immediate parallel elsewhere.

44. Here Vardan introduces a long quotation from a letter supposedly sent by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, to the Armenian Catholicos Zak'aria in 869. The letter dealt with events before and after the Council of Chalcedon. The excerpt by Vardan describes briefly the Armenian theological position with regard to the Greek church from the fourth century down to the irrevocable separation in the seventh century. That Photius had written to the Armenians and that an Armenian bishop Sahak had replied was known to Armenian historians after Asofik. (It is noteworthy that Yovhannēs Catholicos, who lived closer to the time, has no reference to Photius or his correspondence with the Armenians.) But Vardan is the first actually to quote from the letter. This missive of Photius, at least in its surviving Armenian form, is not authentic; and Vardan has added some information pertinent to the Armenian cause which does not appear in the complete text. Vardan's quotations are also tendentiously worded; and no author before him describes the expulsion of Sahak (who wrote the reply to Photius) from Tayk^c "because of the faith."

45. Vardan is also the first to suggest that the emperor of Constantinople Basil I asked Ašot the Bagratid for a crown because Basil regarded himself as an Arsacid—though the Armenian origin of the emperor was known to Samuēl of Ani.

Returning to the internal history of Armenia, Vardan describes the elevation of Ašot to royal status in A.D. 887 by combining the versions of Yovhannēs Catholicos and Asofik. Referring to the royal capital of Ani in Širak, which he confuses

with Ani Kamax in the West in the province of Ekeleac', Vardan introduces a legendary tale about St. Gregory the Illuminator. According to Agat'angelos Gregory had indeed been active in Ekeleac', but no source earlier than Vardan suggests that he had caused the conversion of the lord of Ani by an undignified ruse!

46–49. The next sections follow the general exposition of Yovhannēs Catholicos and Asoḻik, with an interesting addition. Describing the campaign of Constantine Copronymus against the Muslims (Tačiks), Vardan changes the latter to "Turks." This enables him to make a pun on the name Copronymus, the Armenian vowelless root *t'rk'* referring either to "dung" or "Turk." Both Samuēl of Ani and Kirakos mention the attack on the Turks; since as usual Vardan does not quote his source, it is not immediately apparent which author he may be following. But in the next paragraph Vardan refers to Anania of Mokk' settling a dispute over ecclesiastical authority with the inhabitants of Siunik'. This is from Kirakos, as is a reference to images when Vardan discusses the Chalcedonian leanings of the Catholicos Vahan. Also based on Kirakos is the brief paragraph 49 on the succession of the Byzantine emperors.

50. Vardan now turns abruptly to the origins of the kings of Georgia. Although he is close to the version in the Armenian Ĵuanšēr (an adaptation of a Georgian original), there are variations in the story of Vaxtang's origin. Somewhat misleadingly, at the end of the paragraph Vardan refers to the "account of Mxit'ar the priest," that is, Mxit'ar of Ani. But here he is the source only of a brief sentence concerning Bagarat, grandson of Ašot the Merciful, as king of Apxazia. The version of the origin of the Georgian kings is taken "from their books," that is, from Ĵuanšēr or other chronicles.

51–52. Here Vardan inserts a brief paragraph on the succession of the Arcruni kings from Gagik at the beginning of the tenth century to the princes in exile in the middle of the eleventh.

For the history of the early eleventh century, when the Byzantine Empire expanded eastward and eventually swallowed up the small and fragmented Armenian kingdoms, Vardan turns to new sources. Without mentioning them by name, he uses the *Histories* of Aristakēs and of Matt'ēos (Matthew) of Edessa. As with Yovhannēs Catholicos and Asoḻik, so with these other historians who describe an identical period, Vardan often combines their

accounts, taking brief sections from them both and combining them to make a new narrative. On occasion the dating of events agrees with the *Chronicle* of Samuēl of Ani against these more discursive writers. But whether Vardan is following Samuēl, or a source such as Mxit'ar of Ani whose work has not survived intact, is difficult to tell.

53. Mxit'ar of Ani is indeed the acknowledged source of a long section on the origin of the Turkish sultans. A brief paragraph on the background to the reign of Tughril is attributed to "Vahram, son of Tigran," otherwise unknown. But Mxit'ar is the source for several pages of information on the Seljuks.

54. After this excursus Vardan returns to the mainstream of Armenian political and military history. He continues to quote from Mxit'ar for a paragraph on King John of Ani, then turns to Matt'ēos of Edessa. For events of this period the *Chronicle* of Smbat is also a potential source; but in general Smbat abbreviates Matt'ēos. The Armenian version of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle* was also used here by Vardan; it provides a tale about the blinding of Emperor Michael V Kalapates in 1042.

55–56. Vardan continues his account in summary fashion, basing himself on Matt'ēos and Aristakēs for events in Armenia and on Georgian sources not included in the Armenian Ĵuanšēr for Georgia. His source for the rise of the Šaddadids of Ani is not a surviving Armenian historian. It would be rash to speculate on the possible contents of lost works by historians who came from, or were associated with, Ani—Yovhannēs Sarkawag or Mxit'ar Anec'i—if these are not specifically named. Also of unknown derivation is Vardan's theory of the "Chaldaean" origin of the Canars in the Caucasus.

57–58. For his description of the sack of Ani by Alp Aslan, Vardan puts together the accounts in Matt'ēos and the Armenian version of Michael. The latter is also a prime source for the events leading to the Byzantine defeat at Manazkert in 1071. Matt'ēos is the main source for Vardan's further description of the career of Grigor V kayasēr and of the earthquake in Antioch.

59–62. When he returns to the local affairs of Ani and the Šaddadids, Vardan's source again is not named; the details do not appear in the surviv-

ing histories. However, the death of Alp Aslan and his successor Melik-šah's kindness to Christians echo the account in Matt'ēos of Edessa. In general this whole part of Vardan's work is based on Matthew, whose order of exposition Vardan follows; but he does add details from other unnamed sources, details which have parallels in Samuēl of Ani or Kirakos.

63. Vardan's information about Ani here too is unattested in surviving sources. Possibly Mxit'ar or Sarkawag earlier gave the story of Bex's relief of distress there during a famine. A more personal reminiscence is reflected in the reference to the arrow shot into the ceiling of the church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem by Ortoq.

64. Reaching the period of the First Crusade, Vardan follows Matt'ēos in seeing the Franks as those prophesied by Saint Nersēs in the fourth century. However, Vardan's source for the specific origin of the Crusade—the rancor of a French nobleman for a beating in which one of his eyes fell out while he was making a pilgrimage—comes from the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian. For the advance of the Crusaders and the establishment of a Latin kingdom in Jerusalem Vardan refers to "many histories." His basic source, however, remains Matt'ēos.

Vardan here introduces a brief history of the holy cross of Nunē (which she supposedly erected in Georgia in the fourth century at the time of the conversion of the Georgian king). This was eventually brought to Ani, and again Vardan is indebted to a local source. For his tale of the lance kept in Antioch he follows Matt'ēos; but he adds that the Armenians possessed the true lance, which had been brought to Armenia by Thaddaeus. This comes from the Armenian version of Michael. And neither the Syriac original nor Matt'ēos of Edessa suggests that the lance in Antioch was the one that pierced a Christian's side in a mock crucifixion. Vardan here tones down the story reported in the Armenian Michael, substituting "saving image" for "a Christian."

65. The origin of the Rubenid dynasty of Cilician Armenia underwent development over the centuries. Matt'ēos had said that Rubēn was a soldier of the exiled King Gagik; Smbat and Vardan give him noble rank; while the Armenian version of Michael claims that Rubēn was actually descended from a union of the royal houses of the Bagratids and Arcrunik'. Kirakos, Vardan's con-

temporary, says that the Rubenids descended from Gagik of the Arcruni family, a curious conflation.

In the rest of this section Vardan follows the account of Matt'ēos of Edessa for the clash of Crusaders and Turks and for the problems in Jerusalem over the date of Easter. But, as before, when describing events in Upper Armenia, in Lori and Dvin, Vardan's source is not attested among other surviving Armenian chronicles.

66–67. To the account of the death of Grigor Vkayasēr based on Matt'ēos Vardan has prefixed a story concerning the cross supposedly brought to Armenia by Thaddaeus. This is not found in other surviving histories. Although most of this section is based on Matt'ēos, the description of events on the island of Alt'amar has a parallel only in Kirakos, and the listing of relics has a parallel only in T'ovma Arcruni.

68–71. Returning again to affairs in Ani and Georgia, Vardan is indebted to unacknowledged sources. However, an important clue emerges from his description of King David II (1089–1125), who "frequently placed his head under our hands, seeking a blessing." This cannot refer to Vardan, 150 years later. Since the Armenian version of Ĵuanšēr indicates that King David II used to confess his sins to Yovhannēs Sarkawag and be blessed by him, Vardan must be quoting here from that lost *History*. Samuēl of Ani at this point (*s.a.* 573) gives rather more detail than usual about events in Ani and Georgia, but he cannot have been the sole source for Vardan.

These two historians—Yovhannēs known as Sarkawag ("deacon"), "the memory of whose splendor shines out today in his works," and Samuēl "a secular priest from Ani who composed the *Chronicle*"—are named by Vardan amongst the eminent scholars of this time. Vardan also refers here to David, son of Alawik, whose *Canons* have survived, and to Anania from Sanahin, the author of biblical commentaries; but their works were not sources for Vardan's own *Historical Compilation*.

72. Turning to the southwestern part of Armenia, Vardan now describes the rule of Šah-i-Armēn, grandson of Sukman the Ortoqid, in Sasun. For these events there is a brief account in Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, who wrote some fifty years after Vardan, but the latter's own source is unknown.

73–75. For the history of Cilician Armenia Vardan relies, as before, on the work of Matt'ēos of

Edessa—or rather, on the Continuator to it, Gregory the Priest; for Matt'ēos' own contribution ends with the year 585 (A.D. 1136). The *Chronicle* of Smbat generally abbreviates Gregory, so does not serve as Vardan's prime source until after 1163, when Gregory's continuation comes to an end. Further details come from the Armenian adaptation of Michael's *Chronicle*, and occasionally from Samuēl of Ani. But none of these writers gives as much detail as Vardan about events in the North-east, in Dvin and Georgian-controlled areas.

Here Vardan adds a reference to the discussions concerning the faith between Greeks and Armenians. "The task remained unfinished, as the more elaborate histories indicate." Smbat uses the same expression, and Michael also gives an account of these negotiations. But the "elaborate" version is probably a reference to Kirakos, who gives a full text of the Armenian confession of faith. On the other hand, Vardan's extensive description of various miracles is not repeated in other historians, though one of the miracles is echoed in the *Synaxarion*.

76. In his usual fashion, Vardan alternates the history of Cilician Armenia with that of Greater Armenia. For the latter, Kirakos was an important source. Step'anos Orbelean's *History of Siunik'* describes in some detail events in Georgian-controlled Armenia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Twice Vardan refers to the Orbelean family; but since Step'anos wrote fifty years after Vardan's death, his sources rather than his own work were known to Vardan.

77–79. Turning next to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Vardan uses the *Chronicle* of Michael rather than the briefer references in Smbat. But his description of events in northern Armenia has no parallel in surviving histories. For the correspondence of the Armenian patriarch Gregory IV with the Pope, Vardan was familiar with documents that have survived but are not quoted by other historians.

80. For the recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders by Saladin and the advance to the East of Frederick Barbarossa, Vardan basically follows the accounts in Michael and Smbat; but he adds details of Frederick's march overland not found in other Armenian sources. His account of Frederick's death is also more elaborate than the versions in Michael and Smbat; but these latter devote more

space than Vardan to subsequent events and the siege of Acre.

81–83. Vardan now gives a resumé of a translation of a Persian work on eclipses made by Mxit'ar "the revered priest of the cathedral," that is, of Ani. This is followed by a description of the rise of the princes Zak'arē and Ivanē of Kurdish origin; they gained prominence in northeastern Armenia during the reign of Queen Tamara of Georgia. Here Vardan's source is his contemporary, Kirakos of Ganjak. Kirakos is also the source for Vardan's account of the theological quarrels between the Armenians and the Chalcedonian Georgians. Vardan is familiar with events in the time of Melik-šah that are repeated in greater detail by Step'anos Orbelean.

84–85. The original Syriac version of the *Chronicle* by Michael reaches the year 1195. But the Armenian adaptation adds a few pages describing the reign of King Leo I in Cilician Armenia and the accession to the throne of Het'um. Vardan had had a hand in that adaptation himself, but the closest parallel to his own version of Het'um's accession and marriage is the account in Kirakos.

When he reaches the time of the Mongol invasion of 1221 Vardan could rely on his own recollections, since he had been born circa 1200. But his narrative is close to that of Kirakos.

86–87. At this point Vardan turns to the career of his teacher, the famous ascetic and scholar Vanakan, who had been captured and ransomed in 1236 and who died in 1251. Vardan refers to the latter's *History* (now lost) and to the *History* of Kirakos, another pupil of Vanakan's. Between them these described events from 1236 to 1265, in which year "we now are." Vardan says that he does not presume to repeat the history of those years "a third time," but will simply record "in summary fashion" the dates of important events and deeds.

(At this point the best manuscript used for the Venice edition of his *Historical Compilation* ends. However, the narrative does continue, based on Kirakos and on Vardan's own personal recollections, from the year 1242 down to 1265.)

88–96. For the Mongol invasion of Anatolia and the Caucasus Vardan abbreviates the account in Kirakos. Since Vanakan had died in 1251, his *History* could not contain descriptions of later events. Thus a reference to "the detailed writers"

(in the plural) who described Hulagu's campaign in 1259 in Mesopotamia means that Vardan knew of other accounts in addition to Kirakos. Certain details not in Kirakos could come from Grigor of Akanc' (e.g., the description of the tent used as a church by Hulagu's Christian wife), or from Smbat's *Chronicle* (e.g., the reference to King Het'um being with Hulagu in Syria). But Vardan never explicitly refers to either of these writers. He does add personal reminiscences. These include details of the famine at Martyropolis when that city was besieged by Hulagu for two years; the help given by King Het'um to the survivors of the Mongol defeat at Ain Jalut; and the long description of the travels of Yovhannēs Tuec'i. The most significant of these personal reminiscences is Vardan's account of his own visit to Hulagu in 1264, of which his contemporary Kirakos offers a briefer description.

97. Vardan was clearly impressed by the personality of Hulagu and had hoped for further interviews in which he might present the Christian case. But Hulagu died at the beginning of the year 714 of the Armenian era (A.D. 1265), followed three months later by his Christian wife. Vardan ends this section on a more cheerful note with a reference to "a report" that Hulagu's son and successor Abaqa had been baptized.

At this point Vardan breaks his narrative. His book fell into the hands of bandits. But eighteen months later it appeared on the market in Tiflis, was bought back by a relative, and restored to its author.

98–100. Kirakos had ended his *History* with the death of Hulagu. The subsequent Mamluk invasion of Cilicia in 1266 was described by Smbat and Grigor of Akanc'. But for these last pages of his work Vardan could rely on his own knowledge of events: he refers to hearing himself "the poignant news" of the death of T'oros and the capture of Levon, the sons of king Het'um. In his final paragraph Vardan describes the death of the patriarch of Armenia, Constantine, in 1267. He ends on a subdued tone, referring to the "tottering" of Cilicia and the sword and captivity of Greater Armenia; these disasters had hastened Constantine's final day in "painful times of anguish."

The preceding resumé gives some idea of Vardan's eclectic interests. He does not emphasize any particular aspect of Armenian history, but is as

concerned with military and political events as with ecclesiastical and scholarly matters. Perhaps the most surprising feature of his work is the absence of any explicitly stated purpose. The majority of Armenian historians had clearly set out their intentions: either a patron's wishes were being observed, or a moral purpose was in the author's mind.

The most famous example of the former category is the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, who had interpreted the Armenian past as a way of glorifying the Bagratid family. Earlier, the fame of the Mamikoneans had been extolled in the *Buzandaran* of the enigmatic P'awstos and by Łazar P'arpec'i; while in the tenth century T'ovma Arcruni had eulogized the house of the Arcrunik'. In such authors the emphasis was placed on notable deeds of valor or acts of wisdom, which are held up as a model of conduct to be emulated and as a justification for the patron's present eminence. Thus Agat'angelos had spoken of the inspiring example of the life and deeds of Saint Gregory and of the desire of his patron—King Trdat himself—to have the great events leading up to the conversion of Armenia recorded for posterity. Or it may be that the memory of a particular noble family or region needed to be preserved for future generations. Thus Movsēs Dasxuranc' indicates the value of history books which give the order of precedence of noble families; and the later Stephen Orbelian stresses that he does not want the history of his own province of Siunik' to vanish without a trace.

Other authors had sought to inculcate a pattern of conduct based on more general principles. The most famous example of this attitude is Ełišē's *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*. In his description of the revolt of 451 and its aftermath, Ełišē equated virtue with patriotism and allegiance to the ecclesiastical covenant, and classified those who sided with the Persians as both traitors and apostates. The fate of the villain Vasak was elaborated in order to discourage other Armenians from following his pernicious example, which led to personal damnation and to the ruin of the people as a whole. Later Yovhannēs Catholicos spoke about the educative value of the lessons of history. In the eleventh century Aristakēs emphasized that calamities are due to sin; by a knowledge of the past we can be led to repentance and thus escape perdition. Matt'ēos of Edessa picks up the theme: past disasters are warnings from God, and the study of history is a discipline that will save the faithful

from destruction. At some length Mxit'ar of Ani expatiates on the wisdom derived from the study of the past and the spiritual illumination to be gained thereby.

Not all authors were quite so explicit. Sebēos had seen in events the fulfilment of biblical prophecies without drawing any specific conclusions. Asoṭik spoke in general terms about the recording of notable events and famous persons who were worthy of remembrance. The Armenian version of Michael indicated that the historian gathers the most useful and profitable matters in order to expel ignorance and instruct Christian readers. And some writers offer no explanation at all of their motivation in composing a history of their own times or of past generations.

That Vardan does not explain directly his philosophy of history does not mean that his work is purposeless. In the preface to his *Historical Compilation* he states that the reason for creation was God's desire to have good creatures in order to enjoy his own inconsumable goodness. Man thus has a yearning for God. The preface to the *Geography* takes us a step farther: through created things one learns about the Creator. Admittedly, Vardan is discussing the physical universe; but since man is a rational creature—unlike the spheres of heaven—events on earth provide a basis for his understanding of the divine purpose. The preface to Vardan's *Commentary on Grammar* emphasizes a similar point: man can acquire only partial knowledge; perfect knowledge belongs to God alone. So by exercising his mental faculties, by studying and learning, one does what one can in this world to prepare for an understanding of the eternal verities. When referring to the earlier *Histories* of Vankan and Kirakos (p. 147), Vardan implies that the historical record tells us about the infinite mercies of God. Overtly, however, he is more concerned with emphasizing the multitude of the sins of mankind.

Vardan's scholarly interests were broad if unoriginal. In his *Commentaries* on scripture he culled explanations from a variety of earlier writers rather than pursue an original tack. His *Commentary on Grammar* likewise depends on a long succession of similar works, while the *Geography* is but a compendium of place names with anecdotes concerning the more famous. The *Historical Compilation* falls into this general category: wide-ranging but superficial, anecdotal rather than analytical, and based on a wide variety of earlier sources.

The most interesting feature of Vardan's attitude to the writing of history is that he approaches it with the mind of the biblical exegete. The same person or event may be described in more than one book of the Bible; yet for the exegete each account makes its own contribution toward a fuller understanding of God's purpose. In similar fashion, Vardan takes the varied accounts of Armenia's past and harmonizes them. He is not interested in tracing the historiographical traditions, but rather assumes that each reference in earlier writers to the same person or event has its own significance. By combining these accounts Vardan can build up a more detailed picture than that found in any one source. Such a procedure tells us more about Vardan and his times than it does about the past events he is trying to record.

These characteristics reflect Vardan's prime concern—pedagogy. Kirakos drew attention to the many pupils who came to study under Vardan at different monasteries. Colophons from the thirteenth century confirm Vardan's reputation, though only a few of his pupils are known by name. Vardan's legacy to his own generation was thus that of a teacher with an interest in many areas of scholarship. For our generation his works are an important witness to the scope of medieval Armenian culture and to the range of knowledge available at his time in Armenian centers of learning.

Vardan Vardapet's *Historical Compilation**

Before all questions let us created ones consider the One who is;¹ we who have a beginning the One without beginning; we below the One above. Not the totality as such, who exists of himself alone, but a lightning flash that appears from the incomprehensible glory whereby we may direct our yearning, empowered by that intermediary and not ourselves.

Now the great Moses is God's friend.² And since he is the most mild of men,³ may he not shrink from giving us his hand and the rod of God,⁴ grasping which we shall become wise. When he asked the Lord's name, he was told: He is the "One who is,"⁵ by whom the depths of his mind were opened. Thereby gaining confidence, he called him God and Lord,⁶ creator and maker⁷ of everything. For although he heard from him each [detail], yet comprehending him as essence⁸ he believed that he, through whom being exists, is God, since he brings [things into being] here.⁹ And his name is Lord, since he is master and judge¹⁰ of those created by him. As he is eternal being, he is not created, because "he who is" reveals his existence, and "God" [reveals] his creative activity—

just as the name of the first book [of scripture] is called "Creations" or "Births."¹¹ For these are relative things, like indicators and heralds; creatures of the creator, births of the begetter.

[Moses] knew that "he who is" is one and single, because created things are many, and there is no multiplicity without the single; whereas the single exists without multiplicity.¹² The understanding of the Trinity was not hidden from him, because he recognized that "he who is" is three—just as in the making of man and in the dividing of tongues and in the other matters he confesses the three.¹³ Other created things are either above the one or more than the three, since they are incomplete. But "he who is" is three, having beginning, middle, and end.¹⁴ For he is God, (2) first, middle, and last. If any other such are to be found, they are similarities and not real in essence. He understood that "he who is" is the origin of everything; for everything that has been created and exists, first has a beginning to its existence, and takes its being from "he who is." He also knew that "he who is" is simple, therefore he named created things dense and corporeal.¹ He recognized that "he who is" is good, unchanging and without end, without distinction or number or qualities.² For the good "he who is" did not wish to possess good solely [for himself], but he made good creatures for them to enjoy the inconsumable goodness of the creator.³ He began in the following way.

1. "In the beginning God made heaven and earth."⁴ [Moses] does not call them matter, for the

*Words in square brackets [] have been added by the translator. Occasionally Armenian terms have been added in parentheses (*italicized*).

Historical compilation: *hawak'umn patmut'ean*. *Hawak'umn* is literally "collection." Vardan's work falls between a regular "history"—usually rendered by *patmut'iwn*—and the "chronicle" proper, *žamanakagrut'iwn*.

¹One who is: *Ēn*, as Ex. 3:14; cf. John 8:58. For the expression in early Armenian writers, see Thomson, *Teaching*, p. 11, with further references. The *Geography* of Vardan also begins in a similar fashion.

²As Ex. 33:11, of God speaking to Moses. M.A. also begins his chronicle by emphasizing God's revelation to Moses of the form of the visible world—a theme found much earlier in the *Teaching*, e.g., §311, and in T.A., p. 2.

³Num. 12:3.

⁴Ex. 17:9.

⁵Ex. 3:14.

⁶Ex. 3:15.

⁷*Maker*: *stetkot*. This form is not attested in the biblical concordance, but the cognate *stetcič* is common.

⁸As *essence*: *ēiwn*. For *ē* as a substantive see L. Mariès, "Études sur quelques noms et verbes d'existence chez Ezriq," *REArm* 8 (1928), 79–210.

⁹The etymology of God, *astuac*, as derived from *ast acel* is standard in Armenian: e.g., Xosrov Anjevac'i, *Mekmut'iwn*, p. 16, "astuacn vasn stetaneloyñ ew yastis aceloy zetealk's"; or Nersēs Lambronac'i, *Mekmut'iwn Xorhrdoc' Pataragin*, p. 349, "Astuac, ays ink'n ast acol." Although in Agat'angelos, §71, Gregory calls the false gods "hastuack' (fabricated)," this seems to be a pun rather than an etymology of *astuac*.

¹⁰*Master and judge*: *išxan ew datawor*, more common in the Bible of worldly princes, as Ps. 148:11.

¹¹I.e., Genesis, *cnundk'* being plural in Armenian.

¹²For "one" as the origin of multiplicity, see David, *Definitions*, ch. 14.

¹³At Gen. 1:26 God says "let us make," and at Gen. 11:7 "let us go down and confound." That these expressions refer to the Trinity was emphasized by the author of the *Teaching*, §260—whereas in §259 he had stressed the oneness of God.

¹⁴See Aristotle, *De Mundo*, p. 542 of the Armenian version. But this is a misinterpretation of Plato, *Laws* IV, 715e, where the Armenian version exactly renders the Greek: "God holds the beginning, end and middle of all beings," not that God is the beginning, middle and end.

¹*Dense and corporeal*: *t'anjr ew marmnakan*. Ezriq, §119, makes it clear that earthly creatures are corporeal and dense (*t'anjramarmin*), whereas heavenly creatures such as the sun, moon, and stars are corporeal yet rarified (*anawramarmin*). The *Teaching* begins (§259) with a description of heaven and earth, the latter being *t'anjrayatak*.

²Cf. *Teaching*, §263.

³The *Geography* of Vardan stresses this; see p. 2 of Armenian text.

⁴Gen. 1:1.

Maker lacks nothing.⁵ But he created four basic principles:⁶ warm and light, fire and air, cold and heavy, water and earth, containing dryness and moisture.⁷ He said "in the beginning" to indicate that the act of creating was timeless, for in three ways he patterned on himself what was created: absence of time, of limit, and of place. For in the beginning time did not exist, nor year nor day nor hour nor fraction thereof. Nor was there anyone capable of knowing all creation, nor was it in space above as God himself is. But [creation] differs from the nature of the Creator by change, movement, number, kind, and coming into being. Now the wisdom of God is art,⁸ and his power is creative, and his goodness is incorporeal matter, to which his liberal and skillful will gave solidity and form. From nothing⁹ he created the form of heaven and earth, setting them on an unprepared foundation. For the three spheres are higher each than the other: that of fire, that of water below it, and that of air which is the firmament.¹⁰ These three, linked by the wind, circle around the earth. And the earth holds above itself the water;¹¹ it is firm, [being held] by the upward blowing wind. Its natural heaviness does not allow it to fly, yet the blowing upward from the depths does not allow it to fall down. The Word of God lightly holds up the whole. When heaven came into being, it was given life with the fiery angels, (3) as their region is fiery,¹ established in their ten ranks.² In place and glory

and power they are differentiated, outside the four elements in that they are immutable and immortal.³ And heaven is the upper veil between them and God, who is the ineffable paradigm.⁴

Now philosophers say that in the first revolution of heaven came into being nature, which is the art of God,⁵ the creative power after God, perhaps the energy of the four elements.

The second revolution fixed the firmament⁶ and raised up half of the water for two necessary purposes: to lighten the excessive weight of earth, and to hold back the burning fire of heaven from corporeal creatures.⁷

The third revolution, having regard for God's will, activated the plants and herbs, the origin of which is mould of the earth and its perfection the seed within it; and the trees, whose origin is the moss near plants and whose perfection the palm tree, akin to living creatures which are divided into male and female.⁸

On the fourth revolution occurred the command of the Lord concerning the light,⁹ which is an offshoot of the ether.¹⁰ He divided it into three parts and into many vessels: the sun, the moon, and the multitude of stars. The twelve signs of the zodiac were created as a path for the sun and moon and the other seven stars.¹¹ With three the sun makes spring; and rising up into the next three, makes summer. After entering Libra it diminishes. In three it makes autumn; and descending even further lower to the south, it forms winter.

Because of the great height and depth of the world the day can extend to twenty hours, and can

⁵*Maker*: here *aruestawor*, literally "craftsman"; see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), s.v. *technitēs*. "Matter" (*niwut*) does not appear in Genesis, but Wisdom 11:18 refers to the creation of the world from "formless matter" (a reference not noted in Thomson, *Teaching*, §272). Vardan means that God did not create using already existent matter.

⁶*Principles*: *skzbuns*. The usual expression for the four elements is *tarr*; on p. 3 the four *tarr* are distinguished from the immutable and immortal angels.

⁷That this material created world derives from various combinations of the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth; the hot, cold, moist, and dry) is a unanimous theme in Armenian texts. E.g., Eznik §2, 32; Eñšē, *vasn Vardanay*, p. 33; Anania Širakac'i, *Yalags erkri*.

⁸*Art*: *aruest*, or "craft, skill"; cf. God as "craftsman," note 5 above. For the term see Aristotle, *De mundo*, p. 530 of the Armenian text.

⁹*Nothing*: *yoč'ēic*, plural instead of the usual singular *oč'īnč*.

¹⁰The three spheres are also discussed by Vardan at the beginning of the *Geography*, and by M.A., pp. 230.

¹¹For the firmament between the waters above and below cf. *Teaching*, §270; Eznik, §285.

¹For angels as fiery see *Teaching*, §262, Eznik §114, based on biblical allusions.

²*Ten ranks*. In Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, e.g., *Heavenly Hierarchy*, VI.2 (Armenian version ed. R. W. Thomson, CSCO 488 [Louvain, 1987]), and in Eñšē, *Questions*, p. 11, angels are di-

vided into nine ranks. (For nine ranks see below, p. 47.) But M.A., p. 228, divides them into ten ranks, parallel to the ecclesiastical ranks in the church and secular ranks in the state.

³For the angels as immortal see Ps.-Dionysius, *La hiérarchie céleste*, ed. R. Roques, SC 58 (Paris, 1970), p. lxxxiv; Eznik §83.

⁴*Paradigm*: *awrinak*, which is the usual rendering for "type, model."

⁵Cf. p. 2 note 8 above; Aristotle is intended here. The revolutions are the days of creation. A similar exposition is found at the beginning of M.A.'s *Chronicle*.

⁶Gen. 1:6.

⁷Cf. M.A., p. 232.

⁸Gen. 1:7. There are verbal parallels for "the origin . . . it" and "whose origin . . . female" in M.A., p. 233. Cf. Basil, *Hexameron*, 47A, for the palm tree as male or female.

⁹Gen. 1:14–16.

¹⁰*Ether*: *arp'i*. See M.X., III.62, with parallels in Philo. (*Et'ēr* is common in Armenian, but it is not included in the elements in the Armenian version of Aristotle, *De Mundo*.)

¹¹For the zodiac cf. the beginning of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*. M.A. has a briefer description of the zodiac.

be restricted to four. As the philosophers say, this world has fourteen climates—that is, divisions.¹² Seven climates are uninhabitable for mankind, for because of the great depth of the world they are cold and dark.¹³ For six months it is always day, from the Ram to Libra; and for six months night, from Libra to Pisces. Now [in] lower India (4) it is always equal; the hours do not increase or decline, but remain twelve.¹

Now on the fifth revolution and the sixth there came forth the command to water and earth concerning the living beings:² beginning with the zoophytes and sponges and culminating in man as the perfect living being with rationality³—in a thousand species, with their leaders Leviathan in the waters and Behemoth in the deserts on dry land.⁴ According to Aristotle, this is the general spirit which gives existence to everything.⁵

So nature moves the sphere of heaven, and it [in turn causes] time, and it matter, and it plants and living beings and metallic substances: gold and silver and precious stones, and the other things which nature works through sulphur and mercury, as learned men say.⁶

Then he brought to perfection the structure of the limbs. Like good portrait painters, since they begin from the feet,⁷ he wonderfully fashioned some new nature from heaven and earth and what is in between, six hands engaged in the forming of one picture,⁸ so that the one might be like the three; whereby the nature and being and divinity of the Creator may be believed to be one. He knew what sins would occur, but his foresight was unable to prevent the activity of his liberal benevolence.⁹ By the same benevolence he did not abstain from

going on foot as a visitor to the sick to the one whom he had created with his hands.¹⁰ The earth having delivered him up, he handed him over to the executioner of death to cut off his sins and remove the evil from him, and to show him the harm of the serpent and the deceit of the evil one, so that he might heed him no more, knowing what he was intending to do—the renewal.¹¹ But his compassion did not allow him to carry out the sentence of death which he had decreed on him. For behold the spirit did not die; but the dust became dust,¹² while the settler remained.¹³ The Maker¹⁴ (5) is able and compassionate, and matter is in his hand, and with him the time of the resurrection cannot be forgotten.

2. Now with Seraphim and fire God surrounded Paradise,¹ which is in the East,² rooted on earth at the top of a high mountain.³ It is equal with the sphere of the moon, inexhaustible in fruit and unfading with foliage, where the sun does not make day and night but shines from the ether or with the rays of God's glory, as his great work and wonderful place.⁴ He did not reckon the transgressor worthy of seeing it again, but on all sides guarded it with fire, on the sides and above—like the fire of a thunderbolt, which when it falls hides itself and the place from one's eyes⁵—lest anyone presume to seek it without God's will.

So for thirty years Adam lamented with Eve in virginity for their recklessness;⁶ then they knew each other, falling into the shame of animals,⁷ and begat Cain (*Kayēn*)—a painful birth for sick parents, as doctors say—with one sister called Klimas.⁸ After thirty years they begat Abel and his sister

¹² *Climates*: *klim*. Cf. p. 14 for its use in a less technical sense.

¹³ M.A., p. 233, notes that half the world is uninhabitable; he adds that the world is divided into nine sections (*gawti* or *bažin*), of which seven are Christian with 68 nations, and two not Christian with 4 nations. For the 72 nations cf. *Teaching*, §503.

¹ These themes are elaborated in Išoʿ, pp. 78–79.

² Gen. 1:20–31.

³ For man's rationality (*banaworut'ium*), see *Teaching*, §264.

⁴ M.A., p. 234, refers to the 1,000 species: 600 in the water and 400 flying in the air. "Leviathan" and "Behemoth" do not occur in the Armenian Bible, which refers to *višap* (e.g., Job 40:20 = 41:1) and *gazan* (Job 40:10 = 40:15).

⁵ This is a major theme of Aristotle's *De Mundo*.

⁶ On this see the short treatise by Išoʿ. For "gold . . . say" there is a close parallel in M.A., p. 234.

⁷ My queries to Byzantine art historians failed to elicit any supporting evidence for this curious statement.

⁸ I.e., the three persons of the Trinity join in making man, Gen. 1:26.

⁹ This is an important theme of the *Teaching*; see Thomson, p. 15.

¹⁰ I.e., God's visit to Adam in Paradise, Gen. 3:8.

¹¹ The expression is very common in Paul's Epistles.

¹² Gen. 3:19.

¹³ The phrase is obscure. *Bnakič* normally means "inhabitant," so presumably Adam as the settler of the world is intended.

¹⁴ *Maker*: or "craftsman." See above, p. 2 note 5.

¹ But Gen. 3:24 refers to *Cherubim* and a flaming sword.

² Gen. 2:8.

³ For Paradise as a high mountain see R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 221, and esp. 258–61, 306–10.

⁴ T^c.A., p. 10, offers a similar description. A variety of opinions about Paradise is given by Elišē, *Questions*, p. 59.

⁵ A similar parallel is made by M.A., p. 235. (On p. 234 he notes that when Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, they went to Ceylon.)

⁶ The Armenian *Book of Adam*, p. 1, and M.A., p. 262, say that Adam lamented for 70 years; Michael, p. 21, refers to both traditions.

⁷ *Shame of animals*: as M.A., p. 262.

⁸ The *Death of Adam*, p. 24, calls Cain's sister Kayinan; see also

Abeluh⁹. After yet another thirty years¹⁰ Cain killed Abel; for he had learned from his parents to honor God with gifts of honorable things and with first-fruits, and for the sake of mutual love to offer these for himself and his brother. So Abel brought some first-born lambs and fattened [animals], of his own and of his brother's.¹¹ Therefore God looked first on Abel and on his offerings; but to Cain he paid no heed, since he brought a defective [offering], on his own behalf only and not the portion for his brother. It was not received from above with fire, like Abel's. Therefore Cain supposed about Abel that God would receive him into paradise because of his acceptable offering; and inflamed with jealousy he slew him. When Adam and Eve learned [of this], (6) they mourned him for one hundred and forty years.

Now when God mercifully summoned Cain to repentance, he lied and compounded sin on sin. Having received a mark on his forehead, as they say, and palsy in all his limbs,¹ he begat sons and grandsons. Having lived a long life, he died in torments and opprobrium. His offspring Enoch (*Enovk*^c) and Gayeridad and Mayaēl and Maṭusaṭa and Łamēk^c were wicked like their father—as Łamēk^c confessed to his wives, having slain a man and a youth,² whom they say were the brothers of the just Enoch. He slew them and took their wives. God had said that no one should kill either Cain or his son, who they say resembled his father. The sons of this Łamēk^c, Tovbēl and Yubal and their sister Naomi (*Noyomi*), made lyres and songs and cosmetics.³ And by them was invented smithcraft of copper and iron.

3. Now two hundred and thirty years after the expulsion from Paradise Adam had a son of con-

solation, Seth.⁴ After two hundred and five years he begat Enovs who, demonstrating an upright life, had hope in God to requite him.⁵ So he called on the name of the Lord God for assistance. And he made writing and wrote on two tablets of copper and pottery, and prophesied that the world would pass twice, by water and fire.⁶ He wrote this down, and the names of all things which Adam had established, that they might be preserved on tablets: [if destroyed] by water, let it remain on copper, he said; and [if destroyed] by fire, on clay-baked brick. Therefore he was called god, and his sons, sons of God.⁷ Others say: from among his sons two hundred persons remembered the life of paradise, and went up to the mountains in order to preserve virginity; hence they were called sons of God.⁸ When they became wearied, they descended from Mount Hermon (*Ahermon*), and their brothers persecuted them. (7) The sons and daughters of Cain deceived them with lyres and cosmetics, and turned them to themselves, to take as wives whom they might choose.¹ They acted thus, transgressing the covenant of God which he had imposed on them, not to make marriage alliances with them.

4. They say that a thousand years after the departure from paradise the sons of Cain appointed for themselves a king, Samiros by name; and likewise the sons of Seth [appointed a king] Ałoros by name, who knew the number of the signs of the zodiac and of the planets, and from him was named Chaldaeanism (*k'aldēuṭ'ian*), which is astrology.² From then on they number ten kings, and their time is 1,180 years. Enos at 190 years begat Kaynan; Kaynan at 170 years begat Małatiēl; Małatiēl at 165 years begat Yared; Yared at 162 years begat Enovk^c; Enovk^c at 165 years begat Maṭusaṭa;

Stone, *Apocrypha*, p. 21. Michael, p. 22, calls her Klimia; and M.A. Klimay.

⁹*Abeluh*: as M.A., p. 262. The Armenian text of Michael has the corrupted form Beluda (Armenian text, pp. 4–5; Abela in Langlois, p. 22). She is called Ema in the *Death of Adam*, and Awan in *Jubilees*, IV.1. M.A. says that Eve gave birth in pairs: *erkus erkus*.

¹⁰Twenty years in the *History of the Sons of Adam* [*Ankanon Girk*^c, I], p. 315; but thirty at p. 320.

¹¹Gen. 4:3–5.

¹*Mark: pisak*. Gen. 4:15 refers to a "sign (*nšan*)"; the description of the seven punishments inflicted on Cain in the *History of the Sons of Adam*, pp. 317–18, refers to two horns on his head. Palsy was the third punishment, *ibid*.

²Cf. Gen. 4:17–24.

³*Cosmetics: sngoyrs*; not in Gen. 4, but also added by M.A., p. 263.

⁴The Greek and Armenian of Gen. 5:3 read 230, against the 130 of the Hebrew and Syriac.

⁵Gen. 4:26, 5:6. The Armenian of Gen. 5:6 reads 205, against the Hebrew 105. On p. 9 below, Vardan notes that the Jewish tradition is different.

⁶*Jubilees*, IV.17 ascribes writing to Enoch, as Michael, p. 25. But M.X., I.4, attributes the two "inscriptions" (*yarjana-gruṭ'iwk*^c) to Enos, "as Josephus says." However, Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.2, refers to two "pillars" of brick and stone (not copper) erected by Seth's posterity; he does not there name Enos.

⁷M.A., p. 263, has this sentence; he does not refer to the tablets, but does say that Enos created the first writing.

⁸As Michael, p. 22. The story is repeated by M.A., p. 263, who refers to 500 of Enos' brothers and sons.

¹See Michael, p. 23; also M.A., p. 263.

²*They say . . . astrology*. This passage also occurs in M.A., pp. 263–64. It is based on Michael, p. 23.

Mat'usała at 165 years begat Łamēk^c; Łamēk^c at 188 years begat Noah (*Noy*). And when 773 years had been completed, he died before his father by twenty-nine years.³ In the 1,666th year from Adam's expulsion Noah was born, at which time evils multiplied and lawlessness increased.⁴

For first Satan discovered as his weapons gluttony, then love of woman, then murder.⁵ And Satan did this because from frequent intercourse women became sterile, and living beings kill each other, and mankind is annihilated. For forty men died because of one woman, and with women alone they had peace, says the holy father Ep'rem.⁶ But the solicitude of the Lord in opposition to the evil one made the frequent intercourse the cause of the birth of the enormous giants.⁷ And since from (8) women the passion of desire came about, on giving birth to the large-limbed young the mothers died and the offspring lived. When they grew up and saw the great mass of their size, they became haughty and called themselves eternal men.¹ Therefore since God had made them long-lived so that they might be in lieu of writing for their offspring² and they might beget very many, they grew proud and paid no heed at all to death. But the Creator cut them short, and taking the grace of the spirit from their sullied souls, he said: "Their years will be one hundred and twenty, then let my spirit not remain on them."³ Thenceforth 120 years was not [the span] for ordinary mankind, but pardon for the period of men's repentance.

After Noah had lived an irreproachable life for 500 years, dwelling in the desert in virginity,⁴ God commanded him to take a wife and beget sons and to build an ark which would be carried on water.⁵

³For the genealogy see Gen. 5. The figures as given by Vardan do not tally exactly: since Methusala was 969 when he died, Lamech died 31 years before him. But Michael, p. 25, gives the numbers 29 or 49.

⁴Gen. 6:5, 11. Michael, p. 25, also gives the figure 1,666. But Eusebius, *Chronicle*, II.65, indicates that there were 1,566 years from Adam to the flood.

⁵This sentence has a close parallel in M.A., p. 265. Cf. Michael, p. 25.

⁶I have not traced this reference to Ephrem.

⁷As also M.A., p. 265.

¹As M.A., p. 265.

²The argument of longevity is used by the author of the *Teaching*, §291–93, of the patriarchs.

³Gen. 6:3.

⁴The virginity of Noah amidst all the sexual license about him is stressed in the *News of Seth* [*Ankanon Girk^c*, I], p. 321. According to Gen. 5:32, Noah was 500 when he begat Sem, Ham, and Japheth.

⁵Gen. 6:14 ff.

These things were done. He gave one hundred years as the time for repentance, but since no one did repent he shortened the twenty years.⁶ They say that after the 962 years of Mat'usała the waters increased and came down. Therefore in the 600th year of Noah the flood occurred,⁷ and it destroyed all living creatures except those who were in the ark with Noah, with the eight rational [humans].⁸

5. But the duration of Adam's stay in paradise no one can tell. First because this sun which marks time did not serve paradise; and second, since Adam was so sinless his lot was with the immortals, who are not subject to years. But after the transgression he did not stay in paradise, for he was sentenced to death and became dead to God.⁹ There was need for a tomb, but paradise was the place of immortals; therefore, cast onto earth, he became subject to time. From that point the Spirit numbers the years through Moses: namely, according to the translation of the Seventy, (9) from the departure from paradise down to the flood 2,242 years;¹ but according to the Hebrews, 1,656 years, less by 586 years. They say the reason is that the Jews were women-lovers and shortened the years of marriage of their ancestors lest anyone prevent them from taking wives in their youth. For their disagreement concerns [the period] before marriage. They say that Adam at 130 years begat Seth, and Seth at 105 years begat Enos. But after marriage they make the period of time equal to the Seventy. As for Yared and Mat'usała and Łamēk^c, they agree again—which rather reproves their lying; for if the younger ones preserved great continence how much more their elders and betters!

Now Noah, when 500 years had been completed, begat Sem, Ham (*K^cam*), and Japheth (*Ya-beth^c*), with whom he was saved from the flood that occurred in his 600th year. After emerging from the ark, he lived another 350 years.² And they say that he begat another son, Maniton by name, and a daughter Astik by name, among whom he di-

⁶As M.A., p. 265.

⁷Gen. 7:6. But Methusela was 353 when Noah was born, according to Vardan, p. 7; therefore he was 953 when the flood occurred.

⁸The eight were Noah and his wife, with their three sons and their wives: Gen. 7:13, 1 Pet. 3:2.

⁹But the duration . . . God. There are similar arguments in M.A., p. 235.

¹This does not tally with the 1,666 plus 600 on p. 7 above. But it is also attested in some Armenian biblical paraphrases (see Stone, *Apocrypha*, pp. 83, 91), and in Michael, p. 24.

²Gen. 9:28.

vided the whole world.³ First he divided [the world] into three parts according to the three sons who emerged from the ark: into Europe, Libya, Asia.⁴ Europe is called “cut off” because Noah cut off the west,⁵ joining to it [part] of the east from the mountain Emawon;⁶ this he gave to Japheth. They [Japheth’s descendants] extended even farther, as far as the mountains of the Caspians and the Caucasus, and they filled the islands.⁷ Cutting off a part from the west, he gave it to Maniton, who they say asked for some of Adam’s bones which Noah had in the ark. He gave him his knee-bones, and he went away.⁸ It was he who discovered augury from birds; and he is the father of the inhabitants of the British [Isles].⁹

Libya is called a “full portion.”¹⁰ It is the extensive region of the south: Egypt and all India and Ethiopia, which he gave to Ham. (10) The incense-bearing land which was named Arabia Felix he gave to his daughter Astlik; from there came the queen of Saba, since thenceforth women inherited it. But Asia is called “divine,”¹ which is the east; this he gave to Sem, from the Red Sea and Ewila and Palestine and Syria as far as Parthia and Vrkan and the rising of the sun. He also gave him the bones of the first-created [persons]² in chests, which when Ham assaulted him he buried at Golgotha and at Bethlehem. And he imposed anathemas that they should not attack each other.

In the second year following the world-destroying flood Sem begat Arp’ak’sad in his 102nd year. Arp’ak’sad in his 135th year begat Kaynan.³ The latter increased Chaldaeanism and

invented sorcery by stars. Therefore his sons reckoned him to be a god; they made an image for him in his lifetime and worshiped it.⁴ Kaynan at 120 years begat Saša. Saša at 130 years begat Eber. Eber at 134 years begat P’atēk, which means “division.”⁵ Since the lots given by Noah were unequal, they quarreled until they divided them again according to the larger or smaller increase of the race of mankind.⁶ Then, united with each other in friendship, they planned to go to the East to see the garden which they had heard that the first-created [persons] had left. After traveling for many days, behold [they found] a wide sea which divided it from the earth.⁷ So they returned,⁸ vainly thinking that because of sin water had destroyed the earth, and sea had passed through the garden, and that that sin is found today among us and does not lack in the world. “So come let us build for us a tower to preserve us when water comes, the punishment of sin.”⁹

P’atēk was 133 when he begat (11) Rāgaw.¹ And the princes of the world came to the land of Senayar, to the plain of K’alane;² they laid the foundation of a city, built it rapidly, and they began the tower in the first year of Rāgaw.³ They say that around gold and silver bases they set bricks baked with fire, mixed with plaster, lime, and pitch: an extensive foundation deep in the center, with a wide shaft that had openings with windows to give light. They also say that glittering stones were set around the windows. With tireless energy they worked summer and winter; and the soil of the site was conducive. There was a continuous hum from all sides of people going up and coming down, man urging on man and woman her companion. No one said: “I have worked much more than you,” but rather: “You have worked much more than I.” For they still had natures without passion

³Cf. Michael, pp. 27–28. They both appear in M.A., pp. 265–66.

⁴This threefold division is well known in Armenian sources: e.g., M.X., II.2; the *Ašxarhač’oyc’*; the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chronicle*, I.109–9.

⁵The etymology is also found in M.A., p. 266. But “cut off (*masneal*)” is not related to Europe. In his translation of Vardan, Emin supposes that it derives from the Semitic for “West”: *’rb*.

⁶*Emason*. T^c.A., p. 28, calls this the highest of all mountains. See also the *Ašxarhač’oyc’*, Asia, §40.

⁷Michael, p. 27, names the Georgians and Alans, but not Caspians, Caucasus, or islands.

⁸As Michael, p. 27.

⁹As M.A., pp. 265–66. Michael, p. 28, says merely that Maniton “increased astrology.”

¹⁰The etymology from *li bažin* is also found in M.A., p. 266; he too describes the area subsumed under “Libya.”

¹This etymology (*Asia—astuacayin*) is also found in M.A., p. 266. For Astlik and Sheba see Michael, p. 28.

²*First created*: plural in Vardan, but singular in M.A. The latter adds, p. 266, that Adam was buried at Golgotha, Eve at Bethlehem.

³Gen. 11:10–12. But there Arpaxat’ begat Sašay. M.X., I.5, adds Kaynan before Sašay, following the Septuagint.

⁴This description of Kaynan is from Michael, p. 29. It has a parallel in M.A., p. 266, though the latter does not mention the image (*pather*), but refers to the beginning of idolatry.

⁵Gen. 11:14–16. The etymology is given later in 1 Chron. 1:19. Michael, p. 29, refers to it, as does Samuēl Anec’i, ch. 2.

⁶The redivision is also found in M.A., p. 267, and Michael, p. 29.

⁷See Michael, p. 30. A shorter version of this story is found in M.A., p. 267.

⁸Thus in Gen. 11:2; they were journeying *from* the east before building the tower.

⁹Gen 11:4. But the reference to water is found in Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.4; cf. also Michael, p. 30.

¹Gen. 11:18.

²Gen. 11:2 for Senayar; K’alane is named in Gen. 10:10.

³See Michael, p. 13: “at the beginning of the days of Rawag.”

or bitterness.⁴ Until the fortieth year of Rāgaw⁵ they took no respite from the work, until they had reached the invisible atmosphere, sultry, dense, and suffocating, to which no bird rises—or if it does stretch so far, its wings are burned and it falls. They say too that beginning from the bottom they brought gold up through the middle to the top, and it melted from the heat. Men tried by other means to remain unburned and not be hindered from the work, until the Lord himself in mercy put a stop to these fruitless efforts.

Tales are found in the house of Nimrod (*Nēbrov*)⁶ that first an angel came to Nimrod, who was a prince and provided food for the builders, and said to him: “I am an angel of God, prefect of the East.⁷ Thus says the Lord God of heaven and earth: Cease and desist from your coming to me, since you are unable. But I shall come to you in time, and shall give you a ladder whereby you will indeed be able to come to me.” But they did not heed the angel. Then [God] said to his co-beings:⁸ “Come, let us go down and divide their languages.”⁹ And since those fashioned by his hands were terrified of his anger and fled to him, (12) he did not punish them, but intoxicated them with the odor of Paradise;¹ for the top of the tower lay opposite paradise. Being thus consoled in rapture by the ineffable perfume of the Spirit, they forgot the first language. He did not make them undo their labor again, but he turned the construction over to the wind,² and slew none of them; since he did not throw them down, but scattered them.

Much good was done: first because men recognized their own weakness; and also it was the cause of understanding and eloquence. From the first rough and unshapen language [derived] the very gentle language of the Hellenes, the severe one of

the Romans, the menacing Hunnish, the imploring Syrian, the sumptuous Persian, the finely shaped Alan, the ridiculous Gothic, the ensnaring Egyptian, the chirping Indian, the sweet Armenian, fully embellished and seasoned.³ Just as various colors make beauty and there are differences of stature, so there are differences of languages. The original language remained with Eber, who did not join with the others.⁴ And just as sin divided mankind into two houses: that of Cain and that of Seth, likewise here too the race of mankind was divided into two—into Eber and into the seventy-two patriarchs⁵—as the one God, single in power⁶ and totally sweet, is smitten by us and torments [us], yet is called God and Lord. If at the general resurrection they speak in the [tongue of] Eber, yet this must be said that our varied and much-lacking nature with its many epithets,⁷ when it is cleansed and purified, becomes perfect. It takes on the languages of the angels, says the holy Elishē,⁸ with which they speak to God and each other. But the Lord fulfilled the lack of mankind, making the cross a tower in the eastern sky, and showing the steps of virtue as a model to Jacob;⁹ and there the Spirit, who altered their tongues, summoned the angels of God instead of mankind, so that they might be encouraged to rise to the angels. “He established, says [scripture], the borders of the races according to the number of the angels

⁴A briefer description of the tower is given by M.A., p. 267. Cf. also Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.4. Vardan's description has much in common with Juanšēr, pp. 79–80, who says “as is written concerning Nebrot.”

⁵Michael, p. 30, and M.A. refer to the forty years of construction.

⁶*House of Nimrod*. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.4., notes that Nimrod was in charge of the building of the tower. This episode is from Juanšēr, p. 80, who notes that the angel spoke in Persian.

⁷Juanšēr, p. 80, and M.A., p. 267, name the angel Michael but omit “prefect (*koṁnapet*) of the east.” For more elaborate details see the Georgian *Chronicle*, I, p. 162 (Brosset, p. 164).

⁸*Co-beings*: *ēakic*, used as an adjective “consubstantial” by Yovhannēs Mandakuni, *Girk' T'it'oc*, p. 30.

⁹Gen. 11:7.

¹As Juanšēr, p. 80; the version in M.A. is much briefer.

²Gen. 11 does not refer to “wind”; but see *Jubilees*, X.26; Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.4.; Michael, p. 30; M.A., p. 268.

³This description of various languages is also found in M.A., p. 268, and in a text attributed to Stephen of Siunik: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arm. 270, fol. 29b; on which see K.-F. Neumann, “Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de David,” *JA* 3 (1829), 46–86, 97–153. Michael, p. 31, divides the 72 languages into 15 for Japhetic, 38 for Hamitic, 19 for Semitic. See also the elaboration of this theme in Gregory of Tatev; M. Dedurand, “Une somme arménienne au XIV^e siècle,” *Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, Université de Montréal, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales 19 (1968), 217–77, 252.

⁴As Michael, p. 32. That Hebrew was the original language is noted in the *Teaching*, §580, and by T.A., p. 23. But the Armenian text of M.A., p. 268, describes the language which remained with Eber as Arabic, “in which we shall speak at the resurrection.” On p. 20 Vardan follows Michael in stating that the sons of Israel received a new language, Hebrew, after crossing the Red Sea.

⁵For the 72 nations and tongues see the *Teaching*, §503, and M.A., p. 268.

⁶*Single in power*: *miazawr*, which could also mean “of single hypostasis.” For *zawru'iwn* in the latter sense, see Thomson, *Teaching*, p. 12.

⁷*With its many epithets*: *yok'anun*, rendering *polyonymos*, which could also mean “famous.”

⁸*Elišē*: this passage does not occur in his *History* or the *Questions*.

⁹The parallelism between the cross and the tower is a major theme in the *Teaching*, e.g., §581 ff. For the parallel with Jacob's ladder, see *ibid*, §303; cf. also Stone, *Apocrypha*, p. 100.

of God.”¹⁰ He numbered them among the angels, and for all the other languages he appointed overseers¹¹ from among the angels of God, lest the heathen be totally estranged from God. (13)

6. But Bēl, glorying in his monstrous size of sixty cubits,¹ subjected to himself all princes as to a god. He then attacked the only exception—Hayk,² who was son of T^corgom, son of T^ciras, son of Gamir, son of Japheth, son of Noah,³ who did not worship him as god but called him a dog.⁴ He came upon him with a huge host; but Hayk slew him, striking his heart with an arrow, although he was covered with bronze armor.⁵

Now the sons of Ham, on coming to the land of their own holdings, saw that Palestine and the regions of Jordan were rich and fertile. They settled there through the might of Bēl their relative, and enslaved the sons of Sem. There was a great battle. But the sons of Yektan—Saba and Ewila and Up^cir⁶—understood the use of arms and sought for themselves a wide expanse, because they had increased to a large number. From before their faces men escaped for refuge to their own fortresses, and then they began to build castles. Their warriors invented machines to capture fortresses, until the nations grew weary and gave over to them whatever land they wished: to Saba the incense-bearing land, which he called Saba; to Up^cir the land of gold mines, which is India; to Ewila the land of precious stones, which he called Ewilat after his own name.

Ragaw at 132 years begat Seruk^c. Seruk^c at 130 years begat Nak^covr; and Seruk^c built Sruč. Nak^covr at 79 years begat T^cara. T^cara at 70 years begat Abraham.⁷ At that time they say the Amazons existed, which is an army of women. For they say a certain woman from the race of T^corgom, (14) having inherited the kingship of the nation,

exterminated the male offspring. She was valiant and brave and despoiled many nations. There was a dispute caused by the soldiers, so she slew them and established an army of women. In such fashion she established the throne of her kingdom in the city of Ilion (*Alion*).¹

7. Let us remember briefly our ancestor Japheth² who after the flood begat Gamir, from whom [descend] the Gamirk^c [Cappadocians]; and Magog, from whom [descend] the Celts and Galatians; and Meda who settled Media; and T^cobēl, from whom [descend] the T^cetalk^c; and Mosok^c, who took Liwrikia (*Illyria*); and Tiras, from whom [descend] our Ask^cenaz and T^corgom.³ From Yawan [descend] the Yoynk^c [Ionians = Greeks], and from T^caršiš the Virk^c [Georgians] and people of Tyre (*T^ciwrenac^cik^c*). From Kitim [descend] the Romans and Latins. T^corgom begat Hayk and his seven brothers:⁴ K^cart^clos, Kovkas, and the others, who inherited the North. And from Hayk [descends] Aramaneak, after whom the mountain Aragac was named; and from Aramaneak Armayis, who built Armawir. Armayis begat Amasia, after whom the mountain Masis was named; and Amasia begat Gełam, who settled Gełark^cuni. Gełam begat Sisak, from whom [descend] the Siwnik^c, and Harma. The latter begat Aram, after whom all nations call us Armen.⁵ Because he expanded the borders of Armenia and subjected the Cappadocians and Proton and Klima,⁶ he was called Aramaneak. From Aramaneak to Pontus is First Armenia; (15) from Pontus to the city of Melitene is Second Armenia; from there to the province of Cop^ck^c is Third Armenia; from there to the city of the Martyrs and to Añnik^c is Fourth Armenia. His own particular country he called Greater Ar-

¹⁰Deut. 32:8. See the *Teaching*, §297, and Elišē, *Questions*, pp. 9–10.

¹¹*Overseers*: *verakac^cu*; cf. *Teaching*, §321; Eznik §141; Elišē, *Questions*, p. 9.

¹The description of Bēl as “monstrous (*ančoini*)” occurs in M.X., I.11; his height of 60 cubits is mentioned by T^c.A., p. 21, based on the size of the statue in Daniel, ch. 3.

²*Bēl . . . Hayk*. This passage also occurs in M.A., p. 268, but not the rest of the paragraph. Vardan is following the order in Michael, p. 30, where the Armenian version introduces Hayk immediately after the story of the tower.

³For the pedigree see M.X., I.5.

⁴*Dog*: as T^c.A., p. 23, and the *Primary History*—not in M.X.

⁵See M.X., I.11.

⁶From here to the end of the paragraph the story is taken almost verbatim from Michael, pp. 33–34.

⁷Gen. 11:20–26. But for Sruč see Michael, p. 34.

¹This account of the Amazons is based on Michael, p. 34. There is a shorter, and somewhat different, version in M.A., p. 269.

²Yovhannēs Drasxanakert^ci (Catholikos) begins his *History* proper, p. 11, with the descendants of Japheth. Vardan's account of the nations down to “the Romans” is briefer; see also Samuēl Anec^ci, IV.3 and Movsēs Dasxuranc^ci, I.2.

³*Our Askenaz and T^corgom*. See M.X., I.22, for Askenaz, who is not mentioned again by Vardan. Y.D., p. 13, has a longer explanation.

⁴For Hayk and his seven brothers see Ĵuanšēr, p. 8; and below, p. 91.

⁵The foregoing is based on M.X., I.12. Y.D., pp. 17–18, Mxit^car Anec^ci, p. 7, and M.A., p. 270, also derive “Armenian” from Aram. But Samuēl Anec^ci, ch. 4, says that Aram gave his name to the Aramaeans, who are Syrians.

⁶*Proton and Klima*. There is confusion here, since M.X., I.14, says that the Greeks call that region (*klima*) First Armenia (*Protin Armenia*). Mxit^car Anec^ci (1879 ed.), p. 8, has the form *Proton Armenia*.

menia.¹ He begat Ara the handsome, who was killed by Semiramis (*Šamiram*), leaving a son Anušawan.² Of their descent the order runs as follows.³

Parēt, Arbak, Zawan, P'arān, Sur in the days of Joshua, Yonak, Hambak, Arnak, Norayr, Vstam, Kar, Grak, Huan, Ėnjak, Grak, Hawan, Zarmayr who died in the Ilian war with the army of the Ethiopians, Perč in the days of King David, Arbun, Hoyn, Yusak, Kaypak whom Varbakēs the Mede crowned;⁴ taking the crown from Sardanapal, he ruled over Asorestan and Nineveh (*Ninouē*). To him came the sons of Senek'erim, and they were honored even more by Paroyr.⁵ He was succeeded by his son Hrač'ē, who was with Nebuchadnezzor (*Nabugodonosor*) in Jerusalem and brought Šambat with him to Armenia, from whom [descends] the family of the Bagratunik.⁶ After Hrač'ē [came] P'arnawaz, Pačoyč, Kayinak, P'ova, Haykak, Er-uand who begat Tigran the Great, who slew Aždahak and seized and released Chroesus (*Krisos*);⁷ Bab, Tiran, Vahagn, Arawan from whom [descend] the Arawelean⁸, Nerseh, Zareh, Armog, Paygam, Van, Vahē whom Alexander the Macedonian slew.⁸

As for [the descendants] from Ham whom it remains for us to mention: K'uš, Mestrim, Nebrot' who is Bēl, Bab, Anebis, Arbēl, K'ayał, another Arbēl, Ninos the husband of Šamiram.⁹

¹From *Aramaneak . . . Greater Armenia*. There is an identical description of the four Armenias in Y.D., p. 18, and Samuel Anec'i, VII.6. M.X., I.14, refers to four Armenias, but gives no boundaries. The Short Recension of the *Ašxarhač'oyč'* refers to three Armenias (with boundaries different from those here), while the Long Recension refers to Fourth Armenia, which includes Melitene; Soukry, p. 40. See below, p. 59, for the boundaries of the four Armenias as changed by Maurice, "who was insolent enough to change the names given them by Aray!"

²Vardan has omitted the Aray between Aray the handsome and his grandson Anušawan (M.X., I.20), as does Y.D., p. 19.

³The following list is based on M.X., I.19. Many other historians give the same material in greater or lesser detail; see Y.D., pp. 19–20; Mxit'ar Anec'i, p. 8. Samuel Anec'i, ch. 8. Grigor Magistros, *Letter* 19 (pp. 59–61), adds some of his own fanciful etymologies; he is not a source for Vardan.

⁴M.X. and Y.D. say that it was Paroyr, not Kaypak, whom Varbakēs crowned.

⁵The settlement of the sons of Senek'erim, from whom descend the Arcrunik', is attributed to Skayordi by M.X., I.23. Vardan is closer to Y.D., p. 20. (Curiously T' A. does not specify the Armenian king in whose reign the sons of Senek'erim settled in Armenia, despite his interest in their descendants.)

⁶For the origin of the Bagratids Vardan follows M.X., I.22, in opposition to the *Primary History* which gave them a local origin. Movsēs' version became standard.

⁷For P'arnawaz to Tigran see M.X., I.22; and for Tigran's exploits, idem, I.24–30.

⁸For Bab to Vahē see M.X., I.31. For this paragraph Y.D., pp. 20–23, offers a longer version than Vardan, but shorter than Movsēs.

⁹For this paragraph see M.X., I.5. Y.D., p. 23, jumps from

8. Let us also mention the order of the kings. First Nebrot' reigned in Babylon,¹⁰ crowned with a braided and not a hammered crown, in the 56th year of Seruk'. He built the city of Šoš which they called Aspahan;¹¹ and he was slain by Hayk, son of T'orgom.¹² Then T'iras the Chaldaean reigned. In his days was invented the art of gold mining and working in silver.¹³ After him reigned Samiros from the race of Sem for 72 years. (16) He began to mint coins and money with an inscription;¹ and in his time were invented chiseling of figures and working in silk, and measure and weight, and all good organization. Of him Menadros the magus says that he had three eyes.² In the 25th year of Nak'ovr occurred the tribulation of Job, son of Zareh, son of Raguel, son of Esaw;³ who for 38 years fought with Satan, conquered him by endurance, and was glorified. In the seventh year of T'aray reigned Arp'iazat for 17 years. And after him Vilos the Assyrian for 62 years; he brought the capital from Babylon to Assyria, which is Nineveh. But a certain K'saros reigned in Babylon. Saheron the brother of T'aray killed him because he had taken away from him the idol of Kaynan; for he was chief priest.⁴

At this point Damascus was built by Aram the Hittite.⁵ The name of Abraham's mother was Malk'at'u.⁶ Ten years after the birth of Abraham, T'aray begat Sara from Zmurt'a his wife and not from Abraham's mother, as he [Abraham] himself

Vahē (slain by Alexander) down to Vałaršak; see Vardan, p. 30 below.

¹⁰M.X., I.10.

¹¹Šoš: *Susa*. But Michael, p. 35, says that it was built by Kambyzes in the time of Seruk', after Nebrot's death. The identification of Šoš and Isphahan, made by Michael, is not found in the *Ašxarhač'oyč'*, Asia, §38.

¹²See M.X., I.11, for the death of Bēl, identified with Nebrot'.

¹³Michael, p. 35, refers there to Seruk', not T'iras.

¹With an inscription: *anuamb groy*. Emin suggests the emendation: *anuamb iwroy*, "with his own name." Vardan is close to Michael, p. 35, for this section. The Armenian text (ed. of 1871, p. 19) does not have this phrase, but "with his own name" appears in Langlois's translation, which is based on two unidentified MSS in Venice and Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), no. 199.

²Menadros: Samatros in Michael.

³See Michael, p. 35. Job's ancestors are given in the Armenian and Greek version of Job 42:17. Job's trials are mentioned again below, p. 18, at note 8.

⁴This is taken from Michael, pp. 35–36. For the image of Kaynan see above, p. 10.

⁵Michael, p. 36, says that Damascus was built by Maribas the Hittite, adding that Josephus says it was built by Yovsem, Aram's son. M.A., p. 269, follows this last opinion. Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I.6.

⁶Malk'at'u: Malk'a in Michael, p. 36; Malk'at'ay in M.A., p. 270.

said to Abimelēk: "My sister, he said, by my father and not by my mother."⁷ When Abraham was fifteen years old he began to seek God until his seventeenth year. For the rich and very wealthy land of the Chaldaeans encouraged them to all evils. God visited this [land] and ordered many rooks to pasture on the fields and vineyards for a long time. Each person could only work and save a little [of the full] extent, and they fell into poverty.⁸

Now Abraham was keeper in his patrimonial [lands], and at night he learned astronomy, while by day he labored to watch the fields. Observing all sacrifices, vows, and prayers, he worshiped his gods; and there was no alleviation. This Abraham did, and then reckoned in himself that there is no punishment from our deities because they cannot remove [the birds]. But from the art of the stars one must realize that they are in perpetual motion and under duress; and it is clear that there is some driver for them unknown to us.⁹ Then with entreaties he began to say: "Unknown God, creator of all, (17) and also of these birds, expel them." And immediately they disappeared. And Abram said: "Behold we have found God. Blessed is your sovereignty, and may your glory fill the whole land." He related it in his father's house, but they were unconcerned with these matters.¹ At that time King Vilos died and Ninos his son took the crown; he constructed his father's idol in gold, and extended the city of Assyria, and called it after his own name Nineveh.²

In his times Melk'isedek built Jerusalem,³ and Abram did not cease from seeking the appearance of God. He heard him, and according to his [ability to] comprehend, he was revealed to him and said: "Go forth from your land and nation, and I shall bring you to the lot of which you were deprived; to you and your offspring I shall give it."⁴ And [Abraham] told the saying to his father, and he went forth with him. They came as far as Xaran and acquired there a house. There T'ara built a

temple for idols, but Abram set fire to it. Aran his brother wished to extinguish it, and was burned in that very place.⁵ Some say that the mule was contrived by him, and he was killed by the Lord.⁶

Once more the voice of God came to Abram that he should depart from Xaran;⁷ and he went forth according to the Lord's word. They say Abram had another wife and a son named Orestēs.⁸ But leaving all of them, he went to Palestine at 75 years of age, and at 87 he went down to Egypt.⁹ He came forth from there, not forgotten by the Lord. And when he was 117 years old, he brought his son to sacrifice.¹⁰ At 148 years he took Kentur, and acquired six sons from her.¹¹ At 175 he died, in the 37th year of Jacob.¹² In his 40th year Isaac took Rebecca,¹³ and in his 60th she conceived¹⁴ and went to enquire from Melk'isedek.¹⁵ He said: "Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples."¹⁶ In the 72nd year of Isaac the fifteenth dynasty ruled in Egypt, Apis, and he thought himself god.¹⁷ (18) Some called him Sarapis. In the 137th year of Isaac, Jacob went to Xaran to Laban, and at 80 years took Lia, Laban's daughter.¹ In the days of Jacob, Pharaoh (*P'oron*) king of Egypt established laws and judges, and Ogyges built Eleusinea in Attica.² Jacob in his 100th year went to Isaac his father, and Lewi was ten years old; for he had begotten him in his 89th year.³ In his seventeenth year

⁵The Armenian text of Michael, p. 23, says that the temple of idols burned by Abraham was at Urha (Edessa), which agrees with the account in *Jubilees*, XII. Gen. 11:28 indicates that Aran died in Ur. But Vardan is closer to the version of Michael in Langlois, p. 39.

⁶Cf. Eznik, §157, for the human contrivance of the mule (there *jori*; Vardan uses the term *išakēs*, "half-donkey," which is common after the translation of Basil's *Hexameron*; see the *NBHL*, s.v.). Michael, p. 39, is the source for "some say."

⁷Gen. 12:1.

⁸Michael, p. 39. M.A., p. 270, also refers to Abraham's Chaldaean wife and son Orestes.

⁹75 years: as Gen. 12:4, followed by Eusebius, whose *Canon* begins with the first year of Abraham, and Asotik, whose *History* begins with Abraham. His age of 87 is not mentioned in the Bible.

¹⁰Abraham was 100 when Isaac was born; Gen. 21:5. Michael, p. 40, places the sacrifice of Isaac in Abraham's 115th year.

¹¹As Michael, p. 41. For the six sons see Gen. 25:2.

¹²Gen. 25:7.

¹³Gen. 25:20.

¹⁴Gen. 25:26.

¹⁵In Gen. 25:22 Melk'isedek is not named. Here Vardan abbreviates Michael, p. 41.

¹⁶Gen. 25:23.

¹⁷For Apis, called Serapis, see Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 212; Michael, p. 42; M.A., p. 271. Vardan's "fifteenth" is a corruption of 17 in Eusebius and Michael.

¹Gen. 29:23; Michael, p. 42.

²See Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 236.

³Michael, p. 42.

⁷Gen. 20:12. See Michael and Mxit'ar, as previous note.

⁸The text of Vardan has become garbled. For the story see Michael, pp. 36–37, and *Jubilees*, XI.

⁹This sentence is not in the 1871 Armenian text of Michael, but Langlois, p. 37, renders a longer text that includes this. For the idea of a driver (*kaṛavar*), see Eznik, §3. The printed text of Vardan varies between the forms Abraham and Abram with no apparent rationale.

¹See Michael, p. 37, which expresses the content of *Jubilees*, XII.7.

²See Michael, p. 37, for Ninos and his father's golden idol. For At'ur called Nineveh see also M.A., p. 270; its construction is described in Eusebius, *Chronicle*, I.110.

³Michael, pp. 38, 306; cf. M.A., p. 270.

⁴Gen. 12:1.

Joseph was sold,⁴ and in his 30th he came before Pharaoh.⁵ In his 130th year Jacob went down to Egypt; at 147 years he died.⁶ Lewi at 46 years begat Kahat.⁷ Some say the trials of Job [occurred] at this point.⁸ Kahat^c at 60 years begat Amram.⁹ Amram at 70 years begat Moses.¹⁰ Joseph at 110 years died, in the sixth year of Amram and in the 266th of God's promise.¹¹ In that year K'erbon reigned in Egypt for thirteen years; and after him Menap'tis for 43 years. He drowned the children of Israel; by him Moses was saved, as T'er mot'eay, daughter of the same king, raised him. She became the wife of K'andar, king of the city of Memphis. It was the 350th year of God's promise. When Moses was ten he was given for instruction to Yanēs and Yamrēs. In the 22nd year of Moses the sons of Israel began the making of bricks.¹² In his 28th year Moses became prince and built the city of T'ermupolis, named after T'er mot'eay whom they also called Mari.¹³

9. Now the Ethiopians, who were tributary to the Egyptians, in revolt rebelled and took Egypt captive and also the adoptive mother of Moses. So Moses waged war for ten years, took their queen T'esbas and his own mother, and returned to Egypt. The husband of Mari, who is T'er mot'is, became jealous of him. And when Mari died, Moses buried her. Her husband sent K'sant'is, the torturer of Israel, to kill Moses.¹⁴ But Moses killed him (19) and fled to Madiam.¹ Yanēs and Yamrēs took the sons of Israel and led them fifteen days' journey through the desert.² They built their garden for 15 years; and when the work was completed, they took 980 boys from the sons of Israel and sacrificed them to demons. The latter joined

them, and they appointed them as guards for the garden. From then on demons were even more subject to magicians.³ But 400 demons, they say, did not submit until they had sacrificed a second time to their name; and then they came and assented. But in the month of Svōt in disobedience they work their own desires, carrying off some from among mankind.⁴

Then Moses married Sep'ora, daughter of Raguel, son of Dadan, son of Yeksan, of the sons of Kendura. From her he begat two sons.⁵ At this point, they say, in the time of Deucalion occurred a flood in Thessaly. And in the time of P'ayeton [there were] fires in Ethiopia and many other disasters in various places, as Plato describes. Deucalion reigned over the regions of Parnassos.⁶

When Moses was 70 years old he became worthy of God's revelation.⁷ He ordered him to go to Egypt and bring out Israel. But he delayed for ten years. When he was 80 years old he went to Egypt in the 430th year of God's promise. From the 75th year of Abraham it is 205 years to the entrance of Jacob into Egypt; and for 227 years they stayed in Egypt.⁸ The Egyptians were smitten with ten torments;⁹ and by force they brought out the sons of Israel in the 3,842nd year after the expulsion from paradise. They went out on a Thursday, and on a Sunday crossed the Red Sea,¹⁰ whence they are called Hebrews. For "Hebrew" means "crossing."¹¹ (20) They received a new language as a gift, in which they sang: "Let us bless"; and it resembled the Armenian language.¹ For seven months Egypt was shaken; all the buildings collapsed and the inhabitants came out of the buildings.² In that year

³This story is found in Michael, p. 45; and there is a parallel version in M.A., p. 272.

⁴But 400 . . . mankind: not in Michael; but this appears in Mxit'ar, who gives 40 for 400.

⁵Ex. 2:21. The two sons are mentioned in Michael, p. 45.

⁶At this point . . . Parnassos: derived from Eusebius, *Chronicle*, II.103; cf. *Timaieus*, 22c. See also Michael, p. 46; There is a parallel version in M.A., p. 272.

⁷According to Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 505, Moses was then 80. Vardan follows Michael, p. 47.

⁸Moses' delay and the ensuing figures are from Michael, p. 47.

⁹Ex. 7-12.

¹⁰The year and days are given in Michael, p. 48. M.A., p. 272, gives the days but not the year.

¹¹For Eber giving his name to Hebrew, see above, p. 12. For the etymology as "crossing," see Michael, p. 32.

¹For the new language in which they sang Moses' song (Ex. 15), see Michael, p. 48, and M.A., p. 272. The reference to Armenian is Vardan's addition! But on p. 12 Vardan had implied that Hebrew was the original language.

²As Michael, p. 49. There is a briefer reference in M.A., p. 273.

⁴Gen. 37:28.

⁵Gen. 41:14.

⁶Gen. 47:28.

⁷Ex. 6:16.

⁸Vardan is following Michael, p. 43; Job's trials are also mentioned above, p. 16, and in Michael, p. 35.

⁹Ex. 6:18.

¹⁰Ex. 6:20.

¹¹Gen. 50:26.

¹²Making of bricks: *kawakoxut'iw*, lit. "trampling of clay." Cf. Ex. 1:14 (but there it refers to a time before the birth of Moses).

¹³K'erbon . . . Mari. Most of this section comes from Michael, pp. 43-44, and has a parallel in M.A., p. 272. Cf. the *History of Moses* [Ankanon Girk', I], p. 201.

¹⁴The *History of Moses* has a shorter account of these events; Vardan is closer to Michael, p. 44. M.A., p. 272, has a parallel account.

¹Ex. 2:15; Michael, p. 44.

²Yanēs and Yamrēs: the magicians of Pharaoh; see 2 Tim. 3:8. They are named in the *History of Moses*, p. 202, but the following story does not appear there.

Amālēk was defeated by Joshua;³ and in the same year, in the third month, Moses went up Mount Sinai.⁴ Apolimos the Hebrew philosopher says that Moses was the first to be given wisdom by God and create twenty-two letters; with these God wrote down the ten commandments and gave them to Moses. With the same [letters] Moses wrote first the book of Exodus, and then the 22 works in the book of Genesis, and the three other books. And the model of creation he demonstrated by a tangible tabernacle, which was constructed in seven months according to the seven days of creation.⁵ The five books of Moses contain the tales of 3,730 years according to Eusebius.⁶

10. Moses, who had known God, died at 120 years and Joshua son of Naw took his rod for twenty-seven.⁷ In the sixth year of Joshua, Danawos, brother of Egyptos king of the Egyptians, slaughtered the fifty sons of his brother by means of his fifty daughters. But Lingos escaped and became king.⁸ They say that he had eyes on every side, since he was wise. In the 18th year of Joshua, P'iwniks and Kadmos from Thebes came to Syria and ruled. So the land was called Phoenicia and the house of Kadmos. They introduced wisdom there, just as Kikrop's brought from the city of Memphis inhabitants for Athens, and it became a house of wise men. Kikrop's created writing for the Greeks, which others ascribe to Kadmos.⁹ Joshua died at 107 years, and Got'oniēl became judge for 40 years. Africanus puts 30 years between Joshua and Got'oniēl, and the Greeks ascribe 50 years to Got'oniēl; for they were subject to K'us for eight years, which are reckoned to him.¹⁰ At this point Pelapos ruled over the Argives, whence P'ildos derived—the *physiologus* of all liv-

ing creatures.¹¹ After Got'oniēl the Israelites (21) served Eglōm king of Moab for 18 years, which they attached to the years of Awod, who judged Israel for 80 years.¹ At this point was completed the 4,000th year from Adam.²

After Awod they were subject to the foreigners for twenty years.³ And Samegar waxed strong and slew 600 men of the Philistines (*P'kītac'woc'*) with the handle of a plough.⁴ Barak judged Israel with Deborah for 40 years, admitting the servitude of the foreigners.⁵ In his days Yovn was general (*sparapet*) of the Athenians; they were also called Ionians (*Yoynk'*).⁶ In his days a hundred wise men saw one vision on one night—seven suns. This the Sybil (*Sabilē*) woman explained with reference to seven ages, and interpreted the sixth as referring to Christ, whose rays hid the others.⁷ After Barak the Madianites gained power for seven years;⁸ and Gedēon judged Israel for 40 years, subject to the foreigners.⁹ Dedalos the carpenter and painter appeared at this point; they say that the picture he made seemed to move.¹⁰ Abimelēk' slew the 70 sons of Gedēon and judged Israel for three years, and after him Tovla for 22 years.¹¹ They say Heraklēs put Ilion to plunder, killing Antēos whom they considered to be born from the earth.¹² Yayir of Gaṭad [judged Israel] for 22 years.¹³ After him they were subject to the foreigners for eight years, some say for 18 and include others.¹⁴ Yep'ṭay [judged Israel] for six years.¹⁵ Alexander carried off Helen; and for this reason [occurred] the ten-year war and the capture of Ilion. Heraklēs, wounded, cast himself into fire.¹⁶ Esebon for seven years; and after him Elon for ten years, which is

³Ex. 17:13.

⁴Ex. 19. "Second" month in Michael, p. 49.

⁵The preceding is based on Michael, p. 49; M.A., p. 273, only refers to the tabernacle as a model of the seven days of creation. The 22 works are the 22 acts of creation during the six days; see *Jubilees*, II. For the tabernacle see Ex. 25; the *Teaching*, §311, refers to it as a model.

⁶Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 545. T'f.A., p. 34, notes with Eusebius that the reckoning is according to the Septuagint, a point omitted by Michael, p. 50.

⁷Deut. 34:7; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 545; Michael, p. 50. M.A., p. 273, says Moses was buried with his rod.

⁸Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 551. Michael, p. 50, and M.A., p. 273, also have the next sentence.

⁹18th year . . . Kadmos: from Michael, p. 50. Cf. Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 563, for P'iwniks, and *Chronicle*, I.5, for Kadmos. M.A. refers to Kikrops and Athens earlier, p. 271, and to Kadmos on p. 273.

¹⁰See Michael, p. 50, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 573. Judges 3:11 and the *Canon* give Got'oniēl 40 years. According to Josh. 24:30, Joshua died aged 110.

¹¹See Michael, p. 50; M.A., p. 274, has the form P'īlartos for the *physiologus* (*baroyaxaw*), i.e., Philistes.

¹Judges 3:30; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 613.

²As Michael, p. 51.

³Judges 4:3.

⁴Judges 3:31.

⁵Judges 5:31.

⁶As Michael, p. 51, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 685. For this paragraph, where Vardan mostly abbreviates Michael, there is an even shorter version in M.A., p. 274.

⁷Mxit'ar adds "in Rome," following Michael, p. 52, from whom Vardan takes this story of the Sybil.

⁸Judges 6:1.

⁹The 40 years are not mentioned in Judges; but see Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 733.

¹⁰Michael, p. 52, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 735. See also M.A. p. 274.

¹¹Judges 9:56, 10:3.

¹²Michael, p. 53, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 771. See also M.A., p. 274.

¹³Judges 10:3.

¹⁴Judges 10:8; Michael, p. 53.

¹⁵Judges 12:7.

¹⁶Alexander . . . fire: Michael, p. 54, from Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 826 (omitted by Mxit'ar).

not in the Septuagint but in the Hebrew. (22) Labdon for eight years.¹

Then the Romans ruled. [Their] first king was Anias by name.² After Labdon [the Israelites] were subject to the Philistines for 40 years;³ and then Samp^cson arose and saved them for 20 years.⁴ In his fifth year occurred the matter of Ruth.⁵ In his days Zeus died and was buried in Crete; they say he lived for 850 years. He was named Zeus because of his longevity; but he was called Dia from birth.⁶ The Hebrews claim 40 years for Samp^cson's judgeship.⁷ John places a certain judge Emagor after Samp^cson for 40 years. But Africanus says that for 40 years there was no judge, and there was peace.⁸ Heli [judged] for 20 years according to the Septuagint, but according to the Syrians for forty.⁹ But you should know that the holy apostle puts 450 years up to Samuēl;¹⁰ and that fits when you do not take into account the years of Joshua and Samuēl. For Samuēl judged Israel for 40 years according to the Hebrews,¹¹ but for 20 according to the Septuagint, since in his 20th year they sought a king.¹² From then on come the times of the kings.

As for Saul, as long as Samuēl was alive to him is reckoned the life of Saul, who was not pleasing to God, except for two years. Saul reigned for forty years.¹³ In the tenth year of Saul's reign was born David, in the 23rd he was anointed; and he was 28 years old when Goliath was killed. In the 30th year of David's birth Samuēl died; and five years after Samuēl's death Saul was killed, and also Jonathan.¹⁴ David reigned for 40 years.¹⁵ In the tenth year of his reign he removed the tabernacle from the house of Abeddar; and Abiat^car was high

priest, and Gad, Asap^c, and Nat^can—who reprimanded David¹⁶—were prophets. In the 38th year of his reign David selected [two] hundred and eighty-eight persons from among the Levites and made 24 groups, twelve men for each group, as psalmists and servants for the tabernacle of the Lord.¹⁷

(23) After living 70 years he died, giving the crown to Solomon for 40 years.¹ He was twelve years old, and in his first year he had Robovam from Namay his Ammonite wife.² In the fourth year of his reign he began to build the temple, in the 480th year from their departure from the land of Egypt, according to the Books of the Kingdom of the Septuagint; but the Hebrew says 440.³ However, the truth is as follows: 40 years for Moses, 27 years for Joshua, which make 67 years; and 450 years for the judges in servitude to the foreigners, which make 517. After that Samuēl and Saul for 40 years, and 40 years for David, making [5]97; and four years for Solomon, making altogether 601 years.⁴

The measurements of the temple were 60 cubits (*kangun*), and 20 wide and 120 high.⁵ He also built seven cities.⁶ To him came the queen of the South, and she praised the ministers of the temple, the 24 groups established by David which Solomon organized as twelve groups, 24,000 men in one group, and 6,000 judges, and 4,000 lyre players, and 4,000 doormen, and all the other arrangements. Then the queen left him.⁷ Solomon sinned in the 37th year of his reign, and died at 52 years.⁸ There were as prophets Sadok and Ak^cias and Samea; and as philosophers Homer and Hesiod (*Sidos*).⁹ The high priest was Sadok from the tribe of Eliazar—some say from T^camar as is written in the Books of Kingdoms.¹⁰ It is written in the books of the Phoenicians that the temple in Jerusalem was

¹Judges 12:9–14; Vardan follows Michael, p. 54. (But Elon is in the Septuagint, followed by the Armenian, Judges 12:11. It was Eusebius, *s.a.* 832, who said it was not.)

²Michael, p. 54, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 839. See also M.A., p. 274.

³Judges 13:1.

⁴Judges 16:31.

⁵Michael, p. 54, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 845.

⁶The etymologies are from Michael, p. 54; he and M.A., p. 274, say 880 years. Mxit^car omits "he was named . . . birth," but adds "who is Aramazd." For the identification of Zeus and Aramazd, see Thomson, *Agathangelos*, p. xxxix.

⁷Michael, p. 54.

⁸The references to John and Africanus come from Michael, p. 54.

⁹Michael, p. 55, based on Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 861.

¹⁰Acts 13:20; not in Michael or M.A.

¹¹Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 940.

¹²1 Kings 8:5.

¹³Michael, p. 55. Asotik, I.1, also discusses the attribution of Saul's years to Samuel.

¹⁴Michael, p. 56. According to 2 Kings 5:4, David was 30 when he became king; see also Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 941. (Michael has "seven" for "five.")

¹⁵2 Kings 5:4.

¹⁶2 Kings 12; also Michael, p. 56.

¹⁷The text of Vardan reads 188; the correct number 288 is in Michael, p. 56; see also a briefer account in M.A., p. 275.

¹³1 Kings 2:11; Michael, p. 57.

²³3 Kings 14:21.

³³3 Kings 6:1. However, the number 480 is in the Hebrew and Michael, whereas the Armenian and Septuagint have 440.

⁴These figures are discussed at some length in Eusebius, *Chronicle*, I.156–72.

⁵As Michael, p. 60. In 3 Kings 6:2 the measurements are 60 × 20 × 30. But in 2 Chron. 3:4 the height of the porch is 120 cubits.

⁶²Chron. 8:2–6; Michael, p. 57.

⁷²Chron. 9; 1 Chron. 23:4–5. See also Michael, pp. 57–60.

⁸³3 Kings 11; Michael, pp. 57, 61.

⁹Michael, p. 61; cf. Eusebius, *Canon*, *s.a.* 996, 1000, and M.A., p. 275.

¹⁰¹1 Chron. 6:4–8, and Michael, p. 61, refer to Sadok's ancestor Eliazar.

built 143 years before the Tyrians built Kark'edon.¹¹ Solomon and Hiram wrote some proverbs to each other, and Hiram could not resolve those of Solomon. But a man, Abdamanos by name, was found in Tyre who was able to explain them. So he wrote to Solomon, and Solomon was embarrassed.¹²

11. Robovam, Solomon's son, reigned after his father for 17 years over Juda and Benjamin.¹³ (24) The other ten tribes made king over themselves Robovam, the son of Nabat, from the tribe of Ephrem.¹ In his days Sawsakim the king of Egypt came and plundered the Lord's temple and went away.² After Robovam Abia his son reigned for three years.³ And after him Asa, his son, for 41 years.⁴ But after Robovam there reigned over Israel Nabat, his son, for two years,⁵ and after him Baas for 24 years.⁶ In his days there were as prophets: Ak'ia, Samea, Joel, Azaria—who is also [known as] Addov—and Anania, Yovan—whom others called Zak'aria and Epiphanius calls Yud—he whom the lion slew.⁷ In the 29th year of Asa, Elas became king over Israel for two years.⁸ Zambri, his servant, killed him and ruled for seven days.⁹ Then Amri took the crown for twelve years. He built Samaria, which was named Sebastia and now is called Mamluz.¹⁰ After Asa, Yovsap'at ruled for 29 years.¹¹ Two years later Ak'aab, son of Amri, became king over Israel for 23 years. He took as wife Ezabēl, daughter of Ik't'il, king of Sidon.¹² In the 28th year of Yovsap'at, Ok'ozia became king of Israel for one year;¹³ and after him his brother

Yovram for twelve years;¹⁴ and after him Yēu for 28 years;¹⁵ and after him Yovak'az for seventeen years.¹⁶ Yovram ruled over Juda for eight years;¹⁷ and after him Ok'ozia for one year.¹⁸ In the seventh year of Yovram Elia was raised up [to heaven].¹⁹

After Ok'ozia his mother Godotia [reigned]; she was the daughter of Ezabēl.²⁰ Then Yovidea the high priest made king over Juda Yovas, son of Ok'ozia, at seven years of age.²¹ Yovidea was the only one after Moses to live 130 years.²² His son Azaria slew him in the 30th year of his reign.²³ In the 37th year Eššē died;²⁴ and in the 40th year of his reign Yovas was killed by his servants,²⁵ and Amasia became king over Juda for 29 years.²⁶ In his tenth year Yovas became king of Israel (25) for sixteen years,¹ and after him Robovam for forty years.² Some say that he slew Amasia and broke down the wall of Jerusalem [for a distance of] 400 cubits.³ Ozia reigned over Juda for 52 years.⁴ In his 29th year Zak'aria became king over Israel for six years;⁵ and after him Sellom for one month;⁶ and after him Manasem for ten years.⁷ In his 24th year Ozia became a leper; and Isaiah was silent until his death for 28 years. Then Isaiah prophesied again for 61 years; before his silence [were] 24 years.⁸ In the 34th year of Ozia came P'ua, and took from Manasem one thousand talents of gold.⁹ In the

¹¹ Eusebius, *Chronicle*, I.181.

¹² See also M.A., p. 275.

¹³ 3 Kings 14:21.

¹⁴ 3 Kings 12; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1021; Michael, p. 61; M.A., p. 275, all distinguish Rehoboam from Jeroboam.

¹⁵ 3 Kings 14:25–26; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1025; Michael, p. 61; M.A., p. 275.

¹⁶ 3 Kings 15:1–2; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1037.

¹⁷ 3 Kings 15:9–10.

¹⁸ 3 Kings 15:25.

¹⁹ 3 Kings 15:33; cf. Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1045; 23 years in Michael, p. 61.

²⁰ Michael, p. 61, but he does not mention Anania; and Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1043, but he does not mention there Jovan. The reference to Epiphanius is from Michael; at 3 Kings 13:24 the prophet killed by a lion is not named.

²¹ 3 Kings 16:10; but there in the 27th year of Asa. Vardan agrees with Michael, p. 61.

²² 3 Kings 16:15.

²³ 3 Kings 16:23–24. The references to Sebastia and Mamluz (Nablus) come from Michael, p. 61. Cf. also M.A., p. 276.

²⁴ 3 Kings 22:42; but there and in Eusebius, *Canon*, 25 years. Vardan follows Michael, p. 276.

²⁵ 3 Kings 16:29–31; but there and in Eusebius, *Canon*, 22 years. Vardan follows Michael.

²⁶ 3 Kings 22:52; but there two years. Vardan, Michael, and

Eusebius, *Canon*, agree on one year. But Eusebius says in the 25th year of Yovsap'at, and Michael, p. 62, in the 29th.

¹⁴ 4 Kings 8:25.

¹⁵ 4 Kings 10:36.

¹⁶ 4 Kings 13:1.

¹⁷ 4 Kings 8:18.

¹⁸ 4 Kings 8:26.

¹⁹ 4 Kings 2. See also Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1113; Michael, p. 62.

²⁰ 4 Kings 8:26. The phrase "daughter of Jezebel" comes from Michael, p. 62; it is not in Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1116.

²¹ 4 Kings 11:21.

²² As Michael, p. 62; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1125. Cf. 2 Chron. 24:15.

²³ 2 Chron. 24:20–22; Michael, p. 62; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1155, says that this was in the 33rd year of Joaš.

²⁴ 4 Kings 13:10–20; Michael, p. 62.

²⁵ 4 Kings 12:1, 20.

²⁶ 4 Kings 14:2. Cf. Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1163; Michael, p. 63.

¹ 4 Kings; Michael, p. 63.

² 4 Kings 14:23 (but there 41 years); Michael, p. 64.

³ 4 Kings 14:13. This is not in Eusebius' *Canon*, but is reported by Michael, p. 64. (*Cubits*: *girk*, as Michael, but *kangun* in the Armenian Bible.)

⁴ 4 Kings 15:2.

⁵ Six months in 4 Kings 15:8; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1221; and Michael, p. 64.

⁶ 4 Kings 15:13; Michael, p. 64. Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1221, says "for a few months."

⁷ 4 Kings 15:17.

⁸ From Michael, p. 64; For the king's leprosy see 4 Kings 15:5.

⁹ 4 Kings 15:19; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1231; Michael, p. 65.

40th year of Ozia, P'akēē became king over Israel for another ten years.¹⁰ In the 48th year of Ozia, Tiglath Pileser (*T'aklatp'alsar*) came and took captive the majority of the ten tribes.¹¹ After Ozia Jonathan, his son, reigned for ten years.¹² Porphyrius was renowned as poet, and as prophets: Isaiah, Yunan, Amos, Hosea. And Kukr set down laws for the Egyptians, in whose time a lamb spoke.¹³ After Jonathan Ak'az reigned for sixteen years.¹⁴ In his days P'akēē and H'ason, king of Damascus, slew in Jerusalem 120,000 people.¹⁵ Ak'az bribed Tiglath Pileser; and he came and captured Damascus, slew H'ason king of Damascus, and took Edom captive.¹⁶ In the second year of Ak'az Ovsēē killed P'akēē and ruled for nine years.¹⁷ In the eighth year of Ak'az came Sałmanasar; he imposed tribute on Israel and departed.¹⁸

12. After Ak'az Ezekia reigned.¹⁹ In his third year came Sałmanasar; he captured Samaria, took the ten tribes captive, led them to Babylon, and ended the kingdom of Israel which had lasted 250 years.²⁰ That makes from Adam 4,330 years:²¹ Robovam, Nabat, Bayas, (26) Ela, Zambri, Amri, Ak'aab, Ok'ozia, Yovram, Yēu—who slew Ovrām and Ezabēl his mother—Yovak'az, Yovaz, Robovam, Zak'aria, Sellom, Manasem, P'akēē, P'akēē, the last Ovsēē. In the sixth year of Ezekia Israel was taken captive; he reigned over Juda for 29 years.¹ In his ninth year Romulus built Rome.² Manasē for 55 years, Amon for 17 years, Ovsia for 31 years, Yovakaz for three months, Efiakim his brother for eleven years, Yek'onia for three months, Sedekia for eleven years; he was taken captive and the temple destroyed.³ The whole pe-

riod of the kings of Juda is 432 years, and the structure of the temple endured for 442 years.⁴

In the eighth year of his reign Nabugodonosor led away Yek'onia and put him in prison for 35 years.⁵ For Nabugodonosor, son of Nabupalsar, reigned for 42 years.⁶ In the eighth year he took Yek'onia captive and put him in prison for his whole time, which is 34 years remaining. Ilmarovdak succeeded to the throne of his father for three years.⁷ In the first year of his reign he released Ek'onia from prison, and he ate at the king's table.⁸ After him his brother Battasar [reigned] for one year, in whose time Daniel read the writing about the end of the kingdom of the Chaldaeans.⁹ He was captured by Dareh, king of the Medes¹⁰—who seems to be Aždahak, because we call him double-named.¹¹ In the 36th year of his reign over the Medes he also seized that of the Chaldaeans for two years. Cyrus the Persian slew him and ruled over the Medes, Persians, Chaldaeans, and Syrians for thirty years.¹² Of him they say that in his first year he tormented the Jews and slew Ananias and his companions.¹³ So the Lord tormented him in the vision and threatened him. Terrified at this, he ordered the captive Jews to be released, giving the vessels of the temple to Sałmanasar, (27) the steward of Yuda—1,443 vessels of silver and gold.¹ But they were not brought to Jerusalem until the coming of Zorababel.²

Here was fulfilled the sentence of the 70 years, the saying of Jeremiah's,³ which is reckoned from the 18th year of Osia the king; just as Ezekiel says 30 years from the fifth year of the captivity of Yek'onia, in which he began to prophesy.⁴ For Yosia reigned 31 years, and in the eighteenth year was decided the sentence of the 70 years: 14 of Osia, and eleven of Yoakim make 25; and five of

¹⁰20 years in 4 Kings 15:27; but 10 years in Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1232, and Michael, p. 65.

¹¹4 Kings 15:29; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1242; Michael, p. 65.

¹²16 years in 4 Kings 15:33; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1244; Michael, p. 65.

¹³*Porphyrius . . . spoke*: from Michael, p. 65. For the laws of Kukr (Bokchoris), see Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1239; and for the prophets, *ibid.*, s.a. 1280.

¹⁴4 Kings 16:2; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1260; Michael, p. 65.

¹⁵As Michael, p. 65.

¹⁶As Michael, p. 65. In 4 Kings 16:8–9 Edom is not mentioned.

¹⁷4 Kings 17:1. Vardan agrees with Michael in reading "second" for "twelfth."

¹⁸As Michael, p. 65. Cf. 4 Kings 17.

¹⁹4 Kings 16:20.

²⁰4 Kings 18:9 has "fourth" year of Ezekia; but Michael, p. 65, has "eighth year of Ak'az." 250 years: as Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1270.

²¹As Michael, p. 65.

¹4 Kings 18:2; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1276; Michael, p. 66.

²Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1282; Michael, p. 66; M.A., p. 277.

³These figures agree with those in Eusebius' *Canon*, except

for Amon and Efiakim who each reigned for 12 years. Cf. Michael, pp. 69–72.

⁴Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1426.

⁵37 years in Michael, p. 71, and M.A., p. 278.

⁶44 years in Michael, p. 71.

⁷Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1445.

⁸4 Kings 25:29. Michael, p. 72, and M.A., p. 278, do not refer to his eating at the king's table.

⁹Daniel 5; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1448; Michael, pp. 72–73.

¹⁰*Captured*: "killed" in Daniel 5:30, and Michael, p. 73.

¹¹For Aždahak the Mede see M.X., I.24–29. Movsēs also discusses double names in II.24.

¹²Michael, p. 73; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1457.

¹³Michael, p. 73; M.A., p. 279.

¹⁴5,400 in Ezra 1:11. M.A., p. 278, gives the number 5,469 (4,469 in Brosset's translation).

²Ezra 2:2.

³Daniel 9:2

⁴Ezek. 1:1–2.

the captivity make 30; and 34 years of Nabugodonosor add up to 64; and three of Ilmarod, one of Bałdasar, and two of Dareh make 70. Because the 70 were completed and Cyrus delayed, the Lord was angry at him. The angel told Daniel: "The prince of Persia is struggling with me,⁵ not permitting the release of the captives according to your prayers." At the first coming there were 50,000 Jews,⁶ who set up an altar and laid the foundation of the temple; but since they were oppressed by the surrounding peoples, it remained incomplete until King Dareh.⁷ After Cyrus Kambiwsos, his son, [reigned] for eight years; the Jews call him Nabugodonosor.⁸ The two brother Magi for seven months; Dareh Vštasp for 36 years; Xerxes, son of Dareh, for 21 years. In the second year of his father Zorababel came to Jerusalem and built the temple. In his time were fulfilled for the second time the 70 [years] from the destruction of the temple,⁹ plus two more. Thirty-two of Nabugodonosor and his sons, two of Dareh the Mede, 38 of Cyrus and his son, make 72. Adding the two of Dareh makes 74. The surplus [years] are [attributable] to the evil and sloth of the Jews and not to God's sweetness.¹⁰

13. Artašēs the long-armed [reigned] for 41 years.¹¹ In his time Ezras and Nehemiah the chief butler came to Jerusalem and built the wall.¹² Dareh succeeded for 19 years. Artašēs for 40 years; in his time [lived] Esther.¹³ Artašēs Ok'os for four years.¹⁴ (28) Dareh [son] of Aršam for six years, whom Alexander slew and then lived himself for another six years.¹ From the second year of Dareh Vštasp down to the death of Alexander there were 171 years. After him Ptolemy called Lagosean reigned in Egypt for 40 years; Ptolemy Philadelphus for 38 years, in whose time they trans-

lated the scriptures of the Jews.² Ptolemy Euergetes for 24 years, Ptolemy Philopater for 21 years, Ptolemy Epiphanes for 22 years, Ptolemy Philopater [sic!] for 33 years.³ In his time Antiochus Epiphanes oppressed the Jews; he reigned for eleven years.⁴ Antiochus Eupator for two years. In that year and in the 17th of Ptolemy Philopater Judas Maccabaeus rebelled for three years.⁵ From the reign of Zorababel to Judas Maccabaeus are 332 years.⁶

Judas Maccabaeus for three years; Jonathan for ten years; Šmawon for nine years;⁷ Hyrcanus, also [called] Yovhannēs, for 26 years; Aristobulos for one year; Yanneos, also [called] Alexander, for 27 years; Alexandra, his wife, for nine years; Hyrcanus for 34 years; Herod the foreigner for 37 years.⁸ In his 32nd year Christ God was born.⁹ From Judas Maccabaeus down to the birth of Christ are 151 years; from Zorababel to the 32nd year of Herod, in which the Lord was born, are 483 years.¹⁰ Now according to the sevens of Daniel, who said seven sevens and 62 sevens, which make 69, and one seven and half a seven, reckoning the one seven over, makes 70 sevens—which are 490. Since from this number, (29) which is 483, the magi were kings for seven months, that one time [of] seven is not counted; add that to 483 and it becomes 490. For this single seven is in months, but the half seven is 33 and one half years, in which the Anointed was killed. For the other 49 sevens are reckoned as 49, and this is a half because it is still not complete. 49 are another half, that is, incomplete. For we are accustomed to call the half lacking. If you wish, accept [this]—if not, grant pardon.

14. The father of many sons, the great Abraham, became for our race a father to boast of, both

⁵Daniel 10:13.

⁶As Michael, p. 73; Samuēl Anec'i, VI.7; M.A., p. 278. The total in Ezra 2:64–65 is 49,897.

⁷Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1496. Cf. Ezra 4–5.

⁸Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1487; Michael, p. 73.

⁹As Michael, p. 74. based on Eusebius' *Canon*. See also Asotik, I.1, and M.A., p. 279.

¹⁰These comments are not found in the parallel accounts in other Armenian writers.

¹¹Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1553; Michael, p. 74. See also Asotik, I.1, and M.A., p. 279, for the following section.

¹²Eusebius, *Chronicle*, I.190; idem, *Canon*, s.a. 1584; Michael, pp. 74–75.

¹³Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1592, 1612; Michael, p. 75.

¹⁴But Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1652, says 26 years. Michael, p. 76, says 27 or 36.

¹Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1686; Michael, p. 76. For the further six years Vardan agrees with Asotik, I.1.

²For the Ptolemies see Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1693 ff. For the translation of the Old Testament, see *Canon*, s.a. 1736, with elaborate details in Michael, pp. 78–79.

³The years of reign are at variance with Eusebius, Michael, and Asotik. For the second Philopator read: Philometor.

⁴Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1842, 1850; more detail in Michael, pp. 82–83.

⁵Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1853, during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor. Michael, p. 83, does not refer to "three years."

⁶As in M.A., p. 279.

⁷According to Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1860, 1879, Jonathan ruled for 19 years and Shmavon for 8. No figures are given by Michael.

⁸These figures agree with Eusebius; see also Michael, pp. 84–85.

⁹As Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 2015.

¹⁰483: as Michael, p. 86. The following discussion of Daniel's sevens is more elaborate than the remarks in Michael, Asotik,

in the flesh and in the spirit; for he acquired six sons from Kendura: Emran, Eksan, Madan, Madiman, Esbok, and Soviē.¹ Now the oldest son Emran slew Eksan and Madan. Therefore his father sent him to the East by Isaac his own son.² From him was propagated the race of Parthians, whence [is descended] the valiant Aršak.³ Sixty years after the death of Alexander he rebelled against the Macedonians and ruled for 26 years over the land of the K^ušans in the capital Bahl, controlling all the East and Asorestan. Killing Antiochus, he expelled the Macedonians from Babylon and from the land of the Chaldaeans.⁴ They say that he was the son of Aršavir, who was king of the Medes. He took a wife from the race of Moses' sons who were dwelling in Tapⁿas⁵ and had married into the race of Tačiks; then he came and dwelt in the midst of the Medes and Persians, the Armenians and K^ušans. Since [those] four races extended in front and behind, to right and to left, they were called Parthians (*Part^ew*), being composed of four races.⁶ They were also called Pahlav because of their royal city Bahl.⁷

He was succeeded by Aršan his son, also called Artasēs, a charming man, personable, and a fierce warrior.⁸ (30) He had a son Aršak, called the Great, of whom they say that he governed a third part of the world, [which consists of] Asia, Libya, and the greatest part—Europe.¹ He made his brother Vařaršak king over Armenia, and set as his borders Palestine, Asorestan, Anatolia (*Mijerkreayk^h*), T^etalia, from the Pontus sea to where the Cauca-

sus joins the Western sea, and "all else, he said, as far as your wisdom and arms can acquire."² He slew Marn-Pⁱlika,³ who had tyrannically seized the region of Pontus, and established in regulated fashion his kingdom through landowning heads of families, whom the repute of their magnificence summoned to their [various] ranks:⁴ the coronant Bagratunis from the name of Bagarat, who was from the race of the Jew Smbat, from the family of Juda;⁵ the Kⁿtⁱunis who robed him, from the race of K^anan;⁶ the Xorxorunis, his bodyguard, from the family of Hayk; the Varažunis, Arcrunis, Gnunis, Gabełeans, Jiwnakans, Havunis, Sisakeans, the lords of Siwnik^h, the Murac^ans, whom he appointed as second [in rank] to himself, from the blood of Aždahak king of the Medes—and he was called Lord Murc^an⁷—the Aħuanik^h and Arⁱanik^h from the grandsons of Hayk. A certain Aran he appointed as governor of the Northeast; from him sprang the race of Utiac^hik^h, Gardmanac^hik^h, Gargarac^hik^h, and Cawdac^hik^h. To the Guřarac^hik^h, from the surviving sons of řaray, he gave the mountain of Mtⁱn, Kankark^h, and the half of řawax.

To govern the northern Caucasus he summoned the *bdeax* of the Gugarac^hik^h, and set him in command over the captive Iberians, (31) whom Nabugodonosor had brought from Iberia from the West of Libya; a part of them he settled by the sea of Pontus.¹ He named the great prince of Basean, a descendant of Hayk, Dunin;² and he named the governor of the West, Turk^h descended from Hayk, Angeay.³ They say that the latter had the strength of 120 elephants, that he fashioned granite with his hands as he pleased, and that with a

I.1, or M.A., p. 279. The present writer is not sure that his rendering of the passage is correct!

¹ Gen. 25:2.

² Gen. 25:6. Abraham sent (*arjakeac^h*, as Vardan) his concubines' sons to the East by Isaac. (Note that the form Zemran becomes Emran in the Armenian Bible, as M.X., II.68, since the initial *z* was interpreted as the Armenian prefix for the accusative case.)

³ For the descent of Ařak and the Parthians from Abraham by Kent^ura, see M.X., II.1, 68, or Michael, pp. 79–80.

⁴ M.X., II.2, attributes the 26 years to Arřak's son. Asořik, I.4, adds the 31 of Arřak to the 26 of Artasēs, giving 57. Cf. also the *Primary History*, Sebēos, p. 52.

⁵ Tapⁿas is in Egypt; see Jer. 43:7, etc. Moses had married Sep^ora, a descendant of Kendura; see above, p. 19.

⁶ Vardan's etymology of Part^ew is based on *par* (group, circle), and *t^ew* (wing, arm). Y.D., p. 24, defines Parthian as "force (*binuťiwn*)."

⁷ As M.X., II.68.

⁸ For Artasēs, son of Arřak the Valiant and father of Arřak the Great, see M.X., II.2; but he does not call him Aršan, a name unattested outside Vardan. A later Arřanak is mentioned by M.X., II.68, and by Asořik.

¹ M.X., II.2, makes it clear that Arřak ruled over Asia, not Libya or Europe. See also Asořik, I.5.

² As M.X., I.8.

³ Morpⁱwřik in M.X., II.5; Morp^olik in Asořik, I.5; Vardan interprets the first syllable as "Mar-n, the Mede."

⁴ Vařarřak's organization of the kingdom is discussed in M.X., II.7–8, who uses there the term *tanuterakan*, "land owning," followed by Y.D., pp. 24–26, and Asořik, I.5.

⁵ M.X., I.22, had derived Smbat from řambat, a captive Hebrew leader (*glxawor*). Y.D., p. 25, adds: "of whom they report he was from the tribe (*azg*) of David." But this is not repeated by Asořik.

⁶ The origin of the Gntⁱuni family from Canaanites is reported by M.X., I.19, II.7, followed by Asořik, I.5.

⁷ Murc^ann *tēr*. M.X., II.8, explains *Murac^aean tēr* as the old name for *Marac^hwoc^h tēr*, "lord of the Medes," followed by Asořik, I.5. Y.D., p. 26, explains that the descendants of the Mede Aždahak are "now called" Murac^an.

¹ This reference to the Iberians (*Viracⁱ* in the text of Vardan) derives from M.X., II.8, followed by Asořik, I.5.

² *Dunin*: a corruption of Orduni, the name of a princely family. See M.X., II.8 (followed by Asořik), who also reads *kargē*, "appointed," for Vardan's *koč^hē*, "named."

³ *Angeay*: a corruption of Angř in M.X., II.8 (followed by Asořik).

rock as large as a hill he destroyed many ships at the shore of the Pontic sea. As governor for the Southeast [he appointed] Šaršan, whom he named Sasanakan, over the Tigris river; and the Mokac'i from the same province, and Korduac'i, and Anjevac'i, and Akayec'i, and Trpatuni, and Anjit,⁴ and other such. He was a powerful and wise king, [who appointed] scribes and doorkeepers and those who would recall good to the king in his hour of anger.⁵

15. But we have heard, and seen in writing, that he was a son of Aršak the Great and not a brother.⁶ The report was as follows. The king of Persia requested the marble pillar which was in Mbin in the royal Armenian palace. When it was taken up, a Greek inscription was found, saying: "I, Agat'angelos, wrote [this]."⁷ For Aršak the Great had four sons: the first he made king of the T'etals, the second of the Libyans, the third of the Parthians, and the fourth of the Armenians, giving him the boundaries which Hayk had acquired with his offspring and the sons of his seven daughters.⁸

Now when Vałaršak had set his kingdom in order, he kept with him his son Aršak and Artasēs his son, (32) but the other royal offspring he sent to the province of Hašteank'.¹ This was in the custom of all kings, to keep one person with them as heir and to send the others to Hašteank' that they might live in freedom. After reigning for 22 years, Vałaršak died in Mbin.² His son Aršak reigned for 23 years.³ It was he who fixed the spear in granite on the shore of the Pontic sea, having dipped it in the blood of poisonous⁴ snakes; this the people of Pontus worshiped as the work of a god. After him his son Artasēs reigned for 24 years, in the second year of Aršakan king of Persia, who made him sec-

ond to himself; and he ruled over all the continent.⁵ He crossed over the Ocean and reached as far as Spain. He returned, having captured Chroesus king of Lydia, with a numberless army. On his going a second time to the West, he died at sea.⁶

Tigran his son took the throne in the 27th year of Aršakan's reign.⁷ He captured Jerusalem,⁸ and established Mihrdat in Mažak'.⁹ His son rebelled and went to the Romans, having captured the city of Perge. Expanding Mažak' he named it [Caesarea] after the name of Caesar.¹⁰ Following this Bazap'ran again captured Jerusalem, and leading away captive Hyrcanus the high priest he settled him in Van. Tigran died after reigning for 33 years.¹¹ His son Artavazd took the crown, settled his brothers and sisters in Atiovit and Arberan—just as the other Arsacids [had been settled] in Hašteank'—and himself marched to Mesopotamia. When Antoninus heard [of this], he came and slaughtered his army; taking him prisoner he brought him to Egypt as a gift for Queen Cleopatra.¹² Aršam, son of Artasēs, brother of Tigran, then took the crown.¹³ (33) He paid tribute from Mesopotamia to the Romans in the days of Herod, whom Antoninus had made king of the Jews.¹

In [those] days Aršavir king of the Persians, being very young, was unable to assist Aršam. Therefore he was subject to the emperor, and gave workmen to Herod in order to pave the streets of Antioch. After reigning for 20 years he died,² and his son Awag-ayr, whom the Syrians call Abgar,³

⁴The Trpatuni and Anjit do not appear in the accounts of M.X. or Asoĭik.

⁵As M.X., II.8, followed by Asoĭik, I.5.

⁶M.X. (see p. 30 above) had declared Vałaršak was Aršak's brother, as had Asoĭik, I.4. Vardan is here referring to the so-called *Primary History*, according to which Aršak the Great made his son Aršak the Less king of Armenia; Vałaršak was the brother of the latter. Armenian text in Sebēos, pp. 47–55 (see esp. p. 53); translation in Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*, pp. 357–67.

⁷The reference to Agat'angelos and the inscription is also from the *Primary History*; see p. 47.

⁸For Hayk's seven daughters see the *Primary History*, p. 49. (M.X. does not mention the number of Hayk's sons and daughters, I.10.)

¹As M.X., II.8, followed by Asoĭik, I.5.

²M.X., II.8.

³M.X., II.9; Y.D., p. 27; and Asoĭik, I.5, say 13 years.

⁴*Poisonous*: not in the version given by M.X., Y.D., or Asoĭik.

⁵M.X., II.11–12; Y.D., p. 28; and Asoĭik, I.5, give Artasēs 25 years of reign. M.X. and Asoĭik say he became king in the 24th year of Aršakan.

⁶M.X., Y.D., and Asoĭik say Artasēs was killed by his own troops—though all speak of his naval expedition.

⁷M.X., II.14, gives the 49th year of Aršakan (with variants 29, 19, 10 in the MSS). Asoĭik, I.5, says 19th.

⁸According to M.X., II.19, Tigran invaded Palestine; but it was Bazap'ran who captured Jerusalem. Y.D., p. 29, and Asoĭik, I.5, refer to Tigran invading Palestine, but not to the capture of Jerusalem.

⁹As M.X., II.14; Y.D., p. 29; Asoĭik, I.5.

¹⁰As M.X., II.18; and Asoĭik, I.5. Y.D. does not refer to Perge, but mentions Caesarea, p. 30. (The Armenian text of Vardan varies between the spelling Mažak' and Mažak.)

¹¹M.X., II.19; but he refers to only *one* capture of Jerusalem. Y.D., p. 30, refers to Hyrcanus but not Van, and gives Tigran 34 years of reign. Asoĭik follows M.X.

¹²As M.X., II.22–23, followed by Asoĭik, I.5. Y.D., p. 31, does not refer to Atiovit or Arberan.

¹³M.X., II.24, followed by Asoĭik, notes that Aršam was also called Arjam. Y.D., pp. 31–32, uses only the form Arjam.

¹M.X., II.21, 24, followed by Asoĭik, I.5. Y.D. does not mention Mesopotamia in this regard, but refers to Antoninus making Herod king of Judea, pp. 30–31.

²M.X., II.24–25; Y.D., p. 32; Asoĭik, I.5.

³The etymology of Abgar from *awag ayr* is first found in

took the crown. In his second year the Lord was born, and a command came from Augustus Caesar for the census of the world. His image was brought to Armenia and all the Armenians submitted to tribute, likewise Asorestan, Egypt, and all Anatolia.⁴ It was 4,000 [years] from the expulsion of Adam according to the Jews; but according to the Septuagint, 5,198; according to Enanos, 5,091; according to the Syrians, 5,026. [This is based on] a twelve lunar-month year.⁵

16. Augustus, the second emperor after Julius whom they call “taken from the womb,” who was also named Caesar,⁶ reigned after the 462nd year from the suppression of the kingdom of Rome.⁷ Augustus was even more glorified at the birth of the great God and omnipotent king, in whose days came Magi with 12,000 cavalry. Hearing that there was a famine in Palestine, they left their troops with Abgar, and they themselves, who were the princes, came with twelve nobles and one thousand cavalry: Melk^c on the Persian, Gaspar the Indian, Bał^casar the Arab, bringing with them gold, incense, myrrh.⁸ A certain Lukianos, a Frank who was in Syria, wrote about this to the emperor Augustus: (34) “May your imperial majesty know that there came from the Southeast men of great pomp, and they worshiped a child born in Palestine, having received a command from above, from a great star which led them.”¹ Now when the Magi returned to their own country by other routes, Herod slew 1,462 children at the time the Lord went to Egypt.²

M.X., II.26 (see Thomson, note 2 *ad loc.*). Y.D., p. 32, repeats it, but not Asołik.

⁴As M.X., II.26, except for “likewise . . . Anatolia.” Asołik, I.5, has “third” for “second.” Y.D., p. 33, does not mention the image of Augustus.

⁵As Michael, p. 87; Samuēl Anecⁱ, V.13, VII.21; and M.A., p. 281. Eusebius, *Canon*, dates the birth of Christ to the year 2045 of Abraham, 5,228 from Adam.

⁶For the etymology see Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1969; Michael, p. 88.

⁷As Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 1504; Michael, p. 88.

⁸Michael, pp. 88–90, gives various accounts of the Magi, but he does not refer to Abgar nor does he name the three Magi. For the various accounts in the Armenian *Book of Infancy*, see *Ankanon Girk^c*, II. These refer to the twelve commanders and the 12,000 cavalry, but do not bring Abgar into the story. M.A., p. 283, merely gives the names of the Magi without further details.

¹For the letter of Lukianos see Michael, p. 88. There he is called a “Roman (*hromayecⁱ*),” interpreted by Vardan as “Frank.”

²As Michael, p. 90. The figure of 1,360 is given in the *Book of Infancy*, 56. A variant of 1,460 is attested; see the translation of Peeters, ch.13, §5.

Augustus came to Egypt and slew Antoninus his general, who had rebelled against him and seized power.³ Abgar built Urha and transferred there his throne and chancellery from Mabin, just as Tigran built Tigranakert, which is called Amit^c.⁴ In the 33rd year from the birth of our Lord, Aršavir the king of Persia died, leaving three sons and a daughter. They quarreled over the kingdom, but Abgar went there and pacified them with a treaty. Artašēs the eldest son he made king; and he honored Surēn, Karēn, and Košm their sister with the title of Pahlav. But on his return he was inflicted with the disease of leprosy.⁵ Reaching Edessa, he sent Mariaha *bdeašx* of Ałjnik^c, Šamšagram the prince of Apahunik^c, and Ananē his confidant to Marinus the general of the Romans, so that they would not think that his going to the East had been some treacherous plot. Meeting Marinus in Eleutheropolis, they heard a favorable reply and went on to Jerusalem. Seeing the Lord working great miracles, they believed in him and brought [a report of] the miracles they had seen to Abgar. They returned to honor him [Jesus] and brought back his picture,⁶ which remained in Urha until Nicephorus the Byzantine emperor had it brought to Constantinople by the metropolitan Abraham.⁷

17. To him [Abgar] came Thaddaeus the apostle, who baptized him and the whole city. Going to Sanatruk, he was martyred by him in Artaz.⁸ Bartholomew also met the same fate, (35) being put to death by the same king in the city of Arabion.¹ Now Abgar reigned for 38 years, then died in the Lord.² Sanatruk ruled over Mesopotamia, [re-]built Mabin which had been ruined by an earthquake, and died in the hunt, having reigned for twenty years.³ Eruand, son of an Arsacid

³Michael, p. 90.

⁴From here Vardan follows Asołik, I.5, based on M.X., II.27 ff. The identification of Tigranakert and Amida is also found in Vardan's *Geography*, e.g., p. 43, but not in earlier writers, or the *Ašxarhac^c oyc^c*.

⁵*Leprosy*. Asołik I.5 refers only to “pains (*c'awk^c*),” following M.X., II.30 (who in turn was indebted to Labubna). Y.D., p. 34, refers to “a painful disease (*č'arač'ar axt*).”

⁶The preceding is taken from Asołik, who has abbreviated the version in M.X. It goes back in Armenian to the account of Labubna. Cf. also Y.D., p. 34; but he is not the direct source here.

⁷*Nicephorus . . . Abraham*: from Asołik, I.5.

⁸Asołik, I.5, based on M.X., II.33–34.

¹See M.X., II.34, where the city is called “Arebanos”; Y.D., p. 36, names it “Arasbenon.” Asołik, I.5, is the direct source; he calls the city “Arabion.”

²M.X., II.33.

³M.X., II.36, and Asołik, I.5, say “thirty” years.

woman, took the crown and slew all Sanatruk's children; one youth, Artašēs by name, escaped. The latter was taken by Smbat to Persia, to the last king Dareh.⁴ Eruand abandoned Mesopotamia to Titos and paid him much tribute.⁵ He built Eruandak'ar,⁶ transferring there his court from Armavir. At some distance from there he built Bagaran as a home for idols above the river Axurean; as priest he appointed his brother Eruaz.⁷ But in his 21st year Artašēs returned and reigned. After a battle at Marac'-Marg on the river Axurean Eruand fled to the castle, and that evil-eyed one was slain.⁸ Artašēs took the crown. He built Artašat at the spot where the Mecamawr joins the Araxes; and bringing captives from every region he did not leave any place in Armenia uncultivated.⁹ With rectangular stones he marked the boundaries; he fixed the days of the weeks, months, and circle of years; he arranged navigation and the art of fishing.¹⁰ He died after reigning for 41 years, and at his burial there also died not a few slaves.¹¹

Artavazd his son took the crown; but a few days later he was drowned while hunting at the bridge of the Mecamawr, being afflicted by demons.¹² Then his brother Tiran took the crown in the third year of the first Peroz for 21 years. They say he had two very swift horses which they called "winged." He died on the road in Ekeleac', having encountered (36) a very severe snowstorm.¹ Tigran the last, his brother, took the crown for forty-two years.² He was succeeded by his son Vatarš in the 32nd year of his namesake the Persian king. He built Vataršavan in the province of Basean, where his mother had given birth to him; and he walled the town of Vardgēs on the river K'asaṭ. This had

been built by Vardgēs, the brother-in-law of Eruand Haykazn the short-lived. [Vatarš] surrounded it with a fortified wall, and called it Vataršapat—which is also [called] Nor K'ataṭ.³

In his days the nations of Bulgars and Xazars united, having as king a certain Vnasep Surhap, and came along the river Kur with an immense army. Vatarš pushed them back with [much] slaughter through the pass of Č'or. But wounded by an arrow he was unexpectedly killed, having reigned for twenty years.⁴ Xosrov his son took the crown in the second year of Artevan, king of Persia. Immediately he crossed the Caucasus mountain to take vengeance for his father, and smote both nations with the sword. Taking one in a hundred of the noblest as hostages, he returned and set up an inscription in Greek writing as a token of his own rule.⁵

At this time Artašir of Stahr killed Artevan.⁶ When Xosrov heard of it, he informed Emperor Philip; and taking troops of Egypt through deserts as far as the shore of Pontus, he ravaged the land of Persia for ten years, making Artašir flee to India.⁷ Eventually Anak came and deceitfully slew the valiant [Xosrov]. But he and his people were put to death.⁸ However, Bundar, a Persian who had followed Anak and gone to Caesarea, took Anak's son Gregory. (37) He had married Sop'i, the sister of Euthalius. After one year he was on his way back to Persia, but his brother-in-law restrained him on reaching the city of Vataršapat.¹ When Sop'i, the child Gregory's nurse, entered the city her husband gave him to her, having taken him from the bosom of Ogohi at the time that the family of Anak was killed.² Bringing him to Caesarea, they dedicated him to Christ. There he stud-

⁴M.X., II.37; Asoṭik's version is briefer.

⁵*Paid him much tribute: arnē zna yoyž.* The phrase is obscure. M.X., II.38, says that Eruand paid even greater tribute (*harks ewu arawelagoyns tayr*), followed by Asoṭik, I.5.

⁶M.X., II.39, names the new capital Eruandašat. Vardan is following Asoṭik for Eruandak'ar.

⁷M.X., II.40; Asoṭik, I.5.

⁸See M.X., II.46, and Asoṭik, I.5, for the battle of Marac'-marg, "meadow of the Medes." Neither refers to the 21st year, but Movsēs says that Eruand reigned for 20 years. For the expression "evil-eyed (*č'arakn*)," see M.X., II.42: *džneay akn*.

⁹See M.X., II.49, for Artašat and the settlement of captives. Asoṭik, I.5, refers to *ekamuts*, "settlers," rather than *geri*, "captives"; see M.X., II.56.

¹⁰M.X., II.56, 59; Asoṭik, I.5.

¹¹As M.X., II.60. Asoṭik, I.5, mentions Artašēs' death after 41 years of reign, but not the deaths of others at the tomb.

¹²M.X., II.61; on crossing the bridge "he fell into a deep pit," followed by Asoṭik, I.5.

¹M.X., II.62; Asoṭik, I.5. Instead of "winged," Movsēs and Asoṭik say "flying through the air (*awdagnac'*)."

²M.X., II.64; Asoṭik, I.5.

³M.X., II.65. Vardan follows closely Asoṭik's shorter account. But for "32nd" Asoṭik, I.5, reads "thirtieth."

⁴M.X., II.65, refers to Basilik'; and Asoṭik, I.5, to Barsilk' (for Vardan's Bulark'). The *Ašxarhač'oyc'*, Asia §23, associates the Xazars and Barsilk'; but M.X., II.9, does refer to the Bulgars.

⁵M.X., II.65; Asoṭik, I.5. But they both say "third" for "second," and "great" for "Caucasus."

⁶Although Agat'angelos begins his *History* with this revolution, Vardan follows the account in M.X. (echoed by Asoṭik), with further elaborations based on Zenob.

⁷M.X., II.71–73. Vardan is close to the briefer account in Asoṭik, I.5.

⁸M.X., II.74, based on Agat'angelos, §34. Asoṭik does not mention the death of Anak and his family.

¹The story of Bundar (Burdar), Sop'i, and Euthalius appears in M.X., II.80. However, Vardan owes his version to Zenob, p. 21. Neither Movsēs nor Asoṭik mentions Vataršapat in this connection.

²Zenob, p. 21, is the first to name Anak's wife, the mother of Saint Gregory. M.A., p. 284, echoes this version of events and refers to Zenob's *History*.

ied Greek and Syriac;³ and when he reached the age of twelve, a certain David married him to his daughter Mariam.⁴ After two sons were born, they separated from each other. Mariam went to a convent with the elder son, while the younger followed a certain ascetic named Nichomachus.⁵ Their mother turned Vrt'anēs over to his tutor, who raised him and later married him off.⁶ Now after the death of Xosrov, Artasir destroyed his memory. But a certain noble, Artavazd by name of the Mandakuni family, took the little child Trdat and fled to Greek territory;⁷ [Trdat] was raised in the house of Prince Licinius.⁸

When Gregory heard of all that had happened to his family, he went to Trdat and took service with him.⁹ But Gregory's brother, Surēn by name, had been taken to Artasir and raised in the house of his aunt, who was the wife of the son of Juanšēr, king of the Hephthalites. When he grew up, he went to the land of the Čenk^c and of Darband and ruled over them. But some say that a certain sage (*zgon*) named Jacob is Gregory's brother. However, Jacob is the son of Anak's sister Xosrovuhi, who was the wife of King Tiran slain by Aridēs, king of the Lp'ink^c. And Jacob took his sister Sakdēn with her son Hrač'ē after the death of her parents, and went to the land of the Goths. There by good fortune Hrač'ē became king. And it was he who came to attack the king of the Greeks and sought as his opponent Emperor Diocletian.¹⁰ Since the latter was afraid of Hrač'ē, (38) another warrior was sought. Trdat was found, and dressed as the emperor he overcame Hrač'ē and brought him to the emperor. Therefore he came [back] to Armenia as king with Gregory.¹ In his first year he tortured

that holy man of God, and cast him into the pit. In the fifteenth year of Trdat the holy women came to Armenia and were martyred. Then punishment befell the king. Saint Gregory emerged [from the pit], and by a fast of five days and sixty more days of instruction freed the land from demon worship. In the 17th year of Trdat he was ordained in the Lord.²

18. After Julius Caesar had reigned for four years and seven months, a furtive eunuch murdered him and burned [his body] with fire.³ From him the kings of Rome were called Caesars, because of his success. Augustus [reigned] for 56 years; on killing Antoninus and capturing Egypt and Syria he was called Sebastos and Octavios, which mean "victor" and "of great fortune."⁴ In his 40th year the Lord was born.⁵ Tiberius for 22 years; in his fifteenth year our Lord God Jesus was baptized.⁶ Gaius for four years. He had himself named god, and God killed him.⁷ Claudius for thirteen years and nine months.⁸ His wife and sons believed in Christ and found the Lord's cross.⁹ Nero for 13 years; he slaughtered the holy apostles.¹⁰ Vespasian for ten years; his son Titus, who took Jerusalem, for two years.¹¹ Domitian, brother of Titus, for 15 years; he sent John to Patmos.¹² Nerva for one year; he sent John back to Asia.¹³ Trajan for 19 years; he put Ignatius to death.¹⁴ Hadrian for 21 years; he [re-]built Jerusalem through Aquila his father-in-law.¹⁵ Titus An-

ruler of the Goths (there unnamed, but see the previous note). For his coming back as king, see Agat'angelos, §46–47, and M.X., II.82.

²First year . . . Lord. Vardan is close to the account in Asoṭik, II.1, which is abbreviated from Agat'angelos. The expression "demon worship (*diwapaštu'iwn*)" is not in Asoṭik here, but there are numerous references to demons in Agat'angelos. For the 17th year see M.X., II.91.

³Asoṭik, I.3, gives Julius Caesar four years and seven months. But the story of his murder by a eunuch comes from Michael's description of the death of Gaius Caligula, p. 100.

⁴Michael, p. 90, gives the etymology "victorious" for Sebastos, but does not refer to Octavian. (I have not found the source for the etymology of Octavios.)

⁵As Asoṭik, I.3.

⁶Michael, p. 92; Asoṭik, I.3.

⁷Michael, pp. 99–100.

⁸13 years in Asoṭik, 14 in Michael.

⁹Labubna, pp. 12 ff, describes the discovery of the cross by Claudius' wife (Patronice), but does not refer to his sons.

¹⁰Michael, pp. 100–101. Asoṭik gives him 14 years.

¹¹Michael, pp. 101–2.

¹²Michael, p. 103, refers to John but not Patmos. See Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 2109.

¹³Michael, p. 104; Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 2113.

¹⁴Michael, p. 104.

¹⁵Michael, p. 106, refers to the building of Aelia and to

³As Zenob, p. 22.

⁴David and Mariam are first mentioned in M.X., II.80; see also Zenob, p. 22. In the Agat'angelos cycle Julitta is once mentioned, Vg §97, as Gregory's wife; see further G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, ST 127 (Vatican City, 1946), p. 216.

⁵M.X., II.80, says that the younger son went with his mother to a convent, and then followed Nichomachus. Zenob, p. 22, says that the mother entered a convent and the younger (Aristakēs) followed Nichomachus.

⁶M.X., II.80; Zenob, p. 22.

⁷M.X., II.78; Asoṭik, I.5.

⁸Agat'angelos, §37; M.X., II.79.

⁹Agat'angelos, §37; M.X., II.80; Zenob, p. 22.

¹⁰Surēn . . . *Diocletian*. All this is verbatim from Zenob, pp. 21–22, save that Zenob does not say Jacob went to the land of the Goths (only his nephew), and he does not name his nephew, whom Vardan calls Hrač'ē. This, however, is found in Uxtanēs, I.57, who cites Zenob. Agat'angelos, §34, had referred to a brother of Gregory. M.X., II.91, had said that Gregory was of the Surēn branch of Parthians.

¹Agat'angelos, §39–47, describes Trdat's victory over the

toninus, (39) who was called "Pius," with his sons for twenty-two years.¹ Aurelius for 19 years. Commodus for thirteen years.² Pertinax for six years.³ Severus for eighteen years.⁴ Antoninus, the son of Severus, for four years.⁵ Alexander Mamaeus for thirteen years.⁶ Maximus for three years.⁷ Gordian for six years; of him they say that he believed in the Lord.⁸ Philip for six years;⁹ he aided our Xosrov.¹⁰ Decius for one year.¹¹ Gallus for three years.¹² Valerian for seventeen years.¹³ Claudius for one year.¹⁴ Aurelian for seven years.¹⁵ Tacitus for six months; he took vengeance for Xosrov's death and was killed.¹⁶ Probus for six years; some say he crowned Trdat.¹⁷ Carus with his sons for two years.¹⁸ Diocletian and Maximian for nineteen years.¹⁹

In his third year Trdat was crowned and came to Armenia, where he found that prince Awta had kept the royal treasure and his sister Xosroviduxt in the castle of Ani. All of the Armenian princes came out to meet him.²⁰ In the fifteenth year of Trdat Saint Gregory sat on the throne of Saint Thaddaeus the apostle, having been consecrated by the patriarch Leontius in Caesarea.²¹ He brought back with him the relics of Saint John the

Baptist, which John had brought to Ephesus on his return from Patmos and when he went to Jerusalem, and which Firmilian had brought to Caesarea in the days of Decius. Saint Gregory had requested them, but Saint Leontius was unwilling to give them until he received a command from the holy angel. Then he also gave two shining gems, which the patriarch of Rome had given him, and the relics of Saint Athenogenes, who they say was the brother of Mariam the spouse of Saint Gregory.²² These he brought and planted in the land of Armenia, keeping them together in Aštišat at the site of Demeter and Gisan—two brothers, (40) Indian princes, who had come to King Vaṭaršak; fifteen years later they were killed at that spot, and their sons inherited Taron. They were long-haired; and some people still adopt that fashion, keeping thick hair. But let no one allow it.¹

In his days the great Constantine the Spaniard believed in the Lord;² he reigned for 34 years,³ controlling all Europe, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia. When our Trdat and Saint Gregory heard of this, they went to him with 70,000 cavalry, and mutual compacts were made. The holy Constantine heard from the mouth of Gregory about Christ's dispensation in detail.⁴ And he promulgated a command throughout all Italy to celebrate a festival at their coming with sacrifices, saying: "Let us rejoice with the heavenly hosts." Saint Gregory ordered salt to be offered; he blessed it and sent it throughout the whole world [with orders] that without this they should not sacrifice animals. For, he said, to whatever a priestly blessing has not been conjoined, that is equivalent to idolatry—which the Jews washed and then ate. And Gregory said that they are the sons of those who turned cir-

Aquila as translator of the Bible. But he does not call the latter Hadrian's father-in-law or make him responsible for building Jerusalem! (Nor do Eusebius or Asoṭik!)

¹ Michael, p. 107. But the title "Pius" is from Eusebius, *Canon*, s.a. 2154.

² Michael, pp. 107–8; Asoṭik, I.3.

³ Six months in Michael; one year in Asoṭik.

⁴ As Michael, p. 108; Asoṭik, I.3.

⁵ Seven years in Michael and Eusebius' *Canon*. Asoṭik agrees with Vardan.

⁶ No length of reign is given by Michael; Asoṭik gives 14 years. Vardan agrees with Eusebius' *Canon*.

⁷ Not in Michael; see Asoṭik, I.3.

⁸ Not in Michael; see Asoṭik. But the reference to his believing is by confusion with Philip; for which see Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, V.34.

⁹ Seven years in Michael, Asoṭik, and Eusebius' *Canon*.

¹⁰ See above, p. 36.

¹¹ As Michael and Asoṭik.

¹² One year in Michael, p. 110; two years in Asoṭik and Eusebius' *Canon*.

¹³ Fifteen years in Michael and Eusebius' *Canon*. Asoṭik and Vardan agree.

¹⁴ As Michael and Eusebius' *Canon*; two years in Asoṭik.

¹⁵ Six years in Michael and Asoṭik; five years in Eusebius' *Canon*.

¹⁶ Six months in Michael. For his vengeance and death, see M.X., II.76.

¹⁷ Seven years in Michael, p. 110. M.X., II.79, refers to Trdat's prowess in the reign of Probus; but at II.82 says he became king in the reign of Diocletian. See below at note 20.

¹⁸ As Michael, p. 111.

¹⁹ See Michael, p. 112.

²⁰ For Trdat's return see M.X., II.82.

²¹ On p. 38 Vardan had placed the coming of the nuns to Armenia in Trdat's fifteenth year. Agat'angelos, §215, says Greg-

ory had been in the pit fifteen years. Asoṭik, I.5, puts Gregory's consecration in Trdat's 17th year. For Leontius see Agat'angelos, §804, Zenob, p. 23.

²² Agat'angelos, §810, had mentioned the relics of John the Baptist and of Athenogenes. But the story of the origin of the relics of John the Baptist and the reference to the two gems come from Zenob, pp. 23–24. However, Zenob does not relate Athenogenes to Mariam.

¹ Agat'angelos, §809, describes the temples at Aštišat, where Gregory built a church for the relics. But the story of Demeter and Gisan is from Zenob, esp. pp. 36–37, where their appearance is described and he condemns their imitators.

² Agat'angelos, §867, calls Constantine emperor in Spain and Gaul when he was converted.

³ 32 years in Michael, p. 121, and Asoṭik, II.6; 33 years in M.A., p. 249.

⁴ Agat'angelos, §872–880, describes the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Constantine, accompanied by 70,000 troops. But he stresses that Trdat rather than Gregory told the emperor about God's providence in Armenia. Cf. also Michael, p. 114; Asoṭik, II.1; M.A., p. 284; Zenob, p. 40.

cumcision into uncircumcision.⁵ The two kings and two popes, Gregory and Silvester,⁶ made a pact to live and die for each other. The text of the pact, it is said, they dipped in the awesome mystery as they wrote it.⁷

When these nobles returned from the West, the northerners had filled the region of Aḥuank^ς at the urging of Šapuh, king of Persia. The prince of the Šlkuni family had rebelled and entered the fortress of Ułkan; but Mamgun the Čen made his way in, cut off his head and sent it to Trdat. So he gave him the province and named his house Mamikonean after his name. The giant Trdatēs smote the northerners in the province of Gargar, where he also killed the king of the Basilk^ς, the giant who wielded a strap.⁸

(41) In the 30th year of his illumination [of Armenia] Saint Gregory sent Aristakēs to be ordained in Caesarea,¹ because Thaddaeus the apostle had made the first ordination there and had laid foundations for a church. And the name of the archbishop whom the holy apostle made there was Theophilus.²

When the synod of Nicaea took place, Aristakēs returned with the canonical decision.³ The holy patriarch Gregory went to Tarōn and stayed four months with Anton and Krōnidēs.⁴ They said to him: "Hide yourself from excessive glory now you are near old age, like the great Moses, lest the newly converted people worship your relics or stumble at your death through weak-minded thoughts." Which indeed he did. For he went from there to the cave of Manē and died on the mountain, leaning on his staff. Shepherds found and buried him, not knowing who he was. Later the site was revealed and honored. They say that when Emperor Zeno was seeking the relics, in a vision it was revealed to a certain hermit that he should

take them secretly and hide them under the foundation of the church of T'ordan, "which I, he said, built." They remained there concealed. When they gave them to the emperor, they said: "There was a bishop of Aršarunik^ς, Gregory by name, and for his fame [the place] became honored where a part [of his relics] was found. He was a very virtuous and good man."⁵

19. Now Saint Constantine did away with the impious Maximianos, and Maxentios, and Maximos, and the lawless Likianos.⁶ The last had removed a certain centurion with his troops to the province of Cappadocia, (42) and to the theme of Tewlaxunek^ς, and Anatolikeayk^ς, and Xarsanek^ς, and Aramenakk^ς, and Dazimon, to torment the Christians he might find. Frightened by him, they fled to the regions of Sebastia—some to Melitene, which is a fortress in mountainous country, others to the mountain of Taxalason. They were led out by force and slaughtered in the [valley] called Ek-eṭeac^ςajor, which is honored to this day. But the forty saints went and hid in the cave which is above the river Alis, which is today called "of the valiant Vahan." There they set up a cross and each inscribed his name on the rock. Likianos learned of this; at his command they were brought out of the cave on the 15th of the month Areg. This [day] Uxtanēs established as a festival; it is the beginning of their trial, the execution being on March the ninth.¹

After this Šapuh king of Persia sought peace from Constantine, being oppressed by King Trdat. He agreed, but requested from him the crown of the prophet David which Yovab had taken from the sons of Ammon, from the house of Mełk^ςom, and had placed on the head of King David.² It had fallen into [the hands of] the Chaldaeans, and then to Cyrus, and from Dareh to Alexander. With it the Macedonians had been crowned, down to Antiochus whom the Parthian Aršak had slain. He

⁵I have not identified the source for this passage.

⁶Agat'angelos, §875, calls the imperial archbishop Eusebius. Silvester appears in M.X., II.83 (based on the account of Constantine's conversion in Socrates' *Eccl. Hist.*). See also Michael, p. 113; Zenob, p. 23.

⁷M.A., p. 284, also says that the pact was written with communion wine (the blood of Christ) as ink. See *Dašanč T'ut'*, p. 33.

⁸These details are from M.X., II.84–85; abbreviated in Asoḥik, II.1.

¹Neither P'awstos nor M.X. refer to Aristakēs' ordination in Caesarea; but M.X., II.91, refers to the thirty years. This is echoed by Asoḥik, II.1, who does state that Aristakēs went to Caesarea.

²I have not identified the source of the reference to Theophilus.

³Agat'angelos, §885; M.X., II.90.

⁴This tale is from Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *History of Tarōn*, p. 7, but expanded by knowledge of M.X., II.91.

⁵The hermit who discovered the relics in the time of Zeno is known to the Syriac adaptor of Agat'angelos, §297 of Van Esbroeck's Syriac text: Emre. That Zeno acquired the relics himself is a later development; see the discussion in M. van Esbroeck, "Témoignages littéraires sur les sépultures de S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur," *AB* 89 (1971), 398–406. According to the *Life of Nersēs*, p. 10, Zeno took the relics by force, but gave the Illuminator's right hand to the Armenians. See below, p. 85, for the later history of the relics taken to Constantinople in the time of Zeno.

⁶Agat'angelos, §868, adds Diocletian to the list of "heathen kings." M.X., II.83, does not name the "tyrants."

¹This tale refers to the passion of the forty martyrs of Sebaste. It is abbreviated from the version in Uxtanēs, I.61.

²There does not seem to be a biblical source for Yoab crowning David.

took it from him; it then came down to Šapuh. The emperor requested that he might make a copy [of David's] as a crown for himself; he would return the original to him [Šapuh]. Now when he had [the copy] fashioned, he placed them both on a table. And Šapuh told his servants to take theirs. They looked, took the new one, and went off. (43) For Constantine had asked God that the memorial of the holy David remain with him.¹

20. The holy Trdat, named Yovhannēs by baptism² because of his sober life and evil-hating conduct, was poisoned by some godless men and died, having reigned for 56 years.³ Ark'etayos, prince of Fourth Armenia, killed Aristakēs on the road in Cop'k', because he was continuously reprimanding him for his wicked deeds. Vrt'anēs his brother succeeded to the [patriarchal] throne, while Trdat was still alive, in the 54th year of his reign; they took Aristakēs and buried him in T'ordan beside his father.⁴

After the death of Trdat, the second Sanatruk the Arsacid, whom he had established in P'aytakaran, took the crown and planned to rule over all Armenia. He had the young Grigoris killed by the barbarian nation in the plain of Vanean; his body was taken and laid to rest in Amaras.⁵ On hearing of this, the great prince of Aġnik', Bakur, gave help to Ormizd the Persian king, having designs on Sanatruk. When the Armenian princes realized this, they gathered around the great Vrt'anēs and sent two of their leaders to Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, who reigned for 24 years after his father,⁶ [asking] that he help the Armenians and crown Xosrov, son of Trdat. He accepted their request and dispatched the general Antiochus. When Xosrov had been crowned, they attacked Sanatruk, who on hearing [of their approach] fled to Persia. After our army had plundered the country they returned. Then Manaċir

Rštuni attacked Bakur and slew him; taking many captives from the regions of Mbin, he returned. Among these [he took] also the seven deacons of Saint Jacob.⁷ The saint followed and begged [for their release], but he would not agree. When [Jacob] desired to go to the king, he drowned them. When the saint learned [what Manaċir had done], he returned to his place, cursing Manaċir and his country. From him he suffered a cruel death, and the province was infertile until (44) Manaċir's son demonstrated a worthy penance, and brought earth from the saint's tomb after his death. Then the land was blessed by reconciliation with God through the intercession of Saint Jacob.¹

21. Now Constantine the Great had a brother called Dalmatios, who in turn had two sons—Gallos and Julian. He [Constantine] also had three sons: the eldest was Constantius after the name of his father, to whom he gave Constantinople by a testament which he wrote; the middle one was [called] by his own name, and to him he gave Antioch as throne; and to the youngest, Rome. The middle one cheated the one who had the testament and seized Constantinople, promising to protect his sect; for he was an Arian. The eldest took Antioch and attacked the youngest for Rome. His uncle Dalmatios came out to oppose him, and slew him. Then the youngest, Constans, killed him because of his brother, and his sons fled to the middle one. In the sixth year of Constans, Magnentius was captured; he had usurped Italy and Africa, and crowned [himself] in Sirmium. With him certain wicked men had joined forces, and they killed Constans and his nephew. When the middle brother heard of this, he came and slew Magnentius and became sole emperor himself.² He appointed Gallos as Caesar in Antioch, and Julian he sent to study in Athens.³

After this Gallos rebelled and was killed, but Julian was saved by the entreaties of the queen.⁴ [Constantius] appointed him Caesar of the western region, giving him his sister Alinē to wife,⁵ while

¹This tale of the crown is from Uxtanēs, I.75.

²Trdat's baptismal name John is given in the *Dašanec' T'ut'*, p. 32. (According to Aċaiyan, *Dict. of Names*, it is not attested before Vardan or the *Synaxarion*.)

³As M.X., II.92, followed by Asoġik, II.1.

⁴Vardan follows Asoġik rather than M.X., II.91. The latter says Aristakēs was buried in T'ıl, but Gregory's relics were buried in T'ordan.

⁵Vardan follows the version of these events found in M.X., III.3 ff, and Asoġik, II.1, rather than the earlier version in P'awstos, III.6 ff (who names the Arsacid king Sanesan, not Sanatruk).

⁶Vardan is following Asoġik's abbreviated version of Movsēs' account; but 23 years in M.X., III.12; 24 years in Asoġik and M.A., p. 249. The names Constantine, Constantius, and Constans are easily and frequently confused in Armenian.

⁷Eight in M.X. and Asoġik; eight hundred men in P'awstos, III.10.

¹For this account Vardan is following Asoġik, II.1, rather than the longer version in M.X., III.5–7. However, neither source mentions the bringing of earth from the saint's tomb.

²This paragraph is from Michael, pp. 121–23.

³*He appointed . . . Athens:* not in Michael. For Gallos being sent to Antioch, see Socrates, II.28; and for Julian in Athens, *ibid.* III.23.

⁴Michael, p. 126.

⁵Michael, p. 124.

he himself went to Antioch. But Julian, having conquered the barbarians, crowned himself and came to Constantinople. Constantius came out to attack him; but after receiving baptism from Zoyios, he died between Cilicia and Syria.⁶ They say he repented when near the end, and died in the Lord in the orthodox faith. After him Julian [reigned] for two years and eight months, and after him Jovian for one year. Socrates praises the latter;⁷ but some say that he was of the sect of Arius and took vengeance on the orthodox. For that reason, they say, he was strangled.⁸ (45) After him Valens [reigned] for fourteen years; he was an Arian.¹ After forty days his brother Valentinian reigned jointly with him for twelve years, and was killed because of his extremely arrogant remarks about the barbarians.² But Valens, who exiled our Nersēs,³ was struck by lightning and killed at Adrianople at the command of hell.⁴

22. Now our Xosrov, in the second year of Ormizd king of Persia and the eighth year of Constantius, reigned over his homeland for nine years. He built Dvin, which means "hill," bringing there the inhabitants of Artašat—at their own desire indeed, because of the fiery hot wind—and he established his court there.⁵ In his days the inhabitants of the region of Cmak united, 30,000 strong, and raided Ayrarat. There Vahan Amatuni demonstrated his prowess by killing their general, the armored warrior solid as marble and covered in felt. Their defeated troops turned in flight.⁶ But the general Vač'ē fell in that battle; Saint Vrt'anēs ordered his name to be remembered in the liturgy.⁷

When Xosrov ended his life he was buried beside his father at Kamax.⁸ Emperor Constantius in his 17th year crowned Tiran, his [Xosrov's] son,

and sent him to Armenia; but he did not walk in the paths of the good deeds of his fathers. In his third year the holy patriarch Vrt'anēs departed this world and was buried in T'ordan.⁹ Saint Yusik his son took the [patriarchal] throne for six years;¹⁰ he severely reprimanded the king for his cruel deeds. In his days the image of Julian was brought to Tiran. He wished to place it in the church in the province of Cop'k', but Saint Yusik trampled and broke it to pieces on the threshold. In anger the king ordered him to be beaten with whips until he gave up the ghost. Then they took him and placed him beside his father.¹¹ When Saint Daniēl came, the aged *chorepiskopos* who had been a disciple of Saint Gregory, he cursed Tiran. Vexed at this, (46) the king had him strangled; and he was buried in his hermitage called "the garden of ash-trees."¹ P'arnerseh, a good man, held the throne in Aštišat for four years.² In his time the general of Persia came with a great host; deceitfully summoning Tiran to him he blinded his eyes in the province of Apahunik', in the village which was called Arcuť because of that event. Tiran paid justice to God, saying: "Because I darkened two luminaries, for that reason my two eyes have been darkened."³

They say that Saint Yusik knew his wife [only] once, and from that [occasion] she bore two sons, twins—that is, in one womb—Pap and At'anaginēs.⁴ They were called to the diaconate.⁵ But having given themselves over to impurity, they were struck by lightning on the same day.⁶ A surviving son of At'anaginēs, Nersēs by name, was dispatched to Caesarea for study.⁷ But when Aršak, son of Tiran, became king, he came to him and entered his service, carrying his steel sword before him. The solicitations of everyone brought him into agreement, and he was sent to Caesarea to receive the throne of Saint Thaddaeus and

⁶Michael, p. 125, for the baptism and death of Constantine.

⁷Socrates, III.22, IV.24.

⁸Socrates, III.26, and Michael, p. 133, say that Jovian died of an illness.

¹P'awstos emphasizes Valens being an Arian; cf. M.X., III.30. Asofik, II.6, gives him 11 years, as M.A., p. 249.

²For his remarks about the Sarmatians, see Michael, p. 135.

³P'awstos, IV.6; M.X., III.30; Asofik, II.6.

⁴As M.X., III.33. But see below, p. 47 at note 8.

⁵M.X., III.8, followed by Asofik, II.1. For the nine years see M.X., III.10.

⁶Vardan is closer to Asofik, II.1, who follows M.X., III.9. But for "Cmak" Asofik and Movsēs have "Caucasus."

⁷The reference to Vač'ē comes from P'awstos, III.7. (He is not mentioned by M.X. or Asofik.)

⁸P'awstos, III.11; M.X., III.10; Asofik, II.1, all read "Ani" for "Kamax." By Vardan's time Ani on the Axurean was more renowned than Ani Kamax. Cf. p. 77 below for a confusion by Vardan.

⁹P'awstos, III.12; M.X., III.11; Asofik, II.1.

¹⁰M.X., III.14; Asofik, II.1.

¹¹The story of Julian's image is an addition in M.X., III.13–14, to the earlier version of Yusik's death in P'awstos, III.12.

¹For the curse of Daniel and his death, see P'awstos, III.14; M.X., III.14; Asofik, II.1. Vardan is closest to the last.

²As M.X., III.16, followed by Asofik; not as P'awstos, III.16.

³Vardan follows Asofik, II.1, who quotes P'awstos ("Biw-zand"). According to M.X., III.17, Šapuh himself summoned Tiran and blinded him. The name Arcuť ("coal") was given to the village of Dalarik, according to P'awstos, III.20, because there the Persian general blinded King Tiran with burning coals.

⁴As P'awstos, III.5.

⁵P'awstos, III.15.

⁶P'awstos, III.19; M.X., III.16; Y.D., p. 46.

⁷The early career and consecration of Nersēs are described by P'awstos, IV.3, not by M.X., or Asofik.

Gregory. The Holy Spirit worked a miracle by descending in the form of a dove over him, to the astonishment of the onlookers.⁸ He came and put our country into good order, building monasteries and hostels, hospices, hospitals, and leper-houses. He put an end to cruelty, lack of mercy, lamentations for the dead, and the marriages of relatives. Thenceforth one could see our land like the supernal Jerusalem, full of all decency.⁹

When the king, nobles, and wise prelates of the church saw him, they named him patriarch.¹⁰ "For we have, they said, immovable pillars: Bartholomew, Thaddaeus, and the holy Illuminator whom the Pope summoned to Rome, equal to the one who sits on the throne of the apostle Peter."¹¹ For at the beginning there were only four: Matthew in Antioch, (47) Luke in Rome, John in Ephesus, Mark in Alexandria. In the days of the sons of the great Constantine the inhabitants of Constantinople and of Jerusalem grew emboldened and named their prelates patriarchs—Constantinople because of John's transfer there, and Jerusalem because of the acts of dispensation.¹ Let us, they said, have confidence in our great boasts." The bishops of Sebastea, of Melitene, and of Martyropolis they called metropolitans.² And in Armenia they established the nine sacramental ranks of heaven, that is: patriarch, metropolitan, bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, reader, monk, congregations.³

23. In his days Aršak threw off the domination of Emperor Valentinian;⁴ in anger the latter slew

⁸P'awstos, IV.4, gives an elaborate version of this miracle, more soberly reported by Y.D., p. 46.

⁹Vardan is closer to Y.D., p. 46, than the elaborate account in P'awstos, IV.4; cf. also M.X., III.20.

¹⁰The following discussion of the rank of patriarch is based on Y.D., pp. 46–47. On the general question see F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass, 1958), pp. 242–43.

¹¹For the visit of Gregory the Illuminator to Rome, see above, p. 40.

¹Y.D., p. 47, adds that the relics of the founders of the Armenian church are in Armenia.

²Y.D. adds that the Georgians and Aṭuank' have "archbishops."

³Y.D. also describes "nine sacramental ranks": patriarch, archbishop, metropolitan, bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, reader, psalmist. There is a long discussion of these titles in Step'anos Orbelean, *History*, ch. 27. Dionysius the Areopagite is cited as authority for the ninefold ordering of the church as the image of heaven by Nersēs Lambronac'i, *Commentary on the Liturgy*, p. 33. But see above, p. 3, for "ten" ranks. (For other references to the Dionysian corpus in Armenian see R. W. Thomson, "The Armenian Version of Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita," *Acta Jutlandica* 57 [1982], 115–23.)

⁴Vardan continues to quote from Y.D., p. 48, whose account is based on M.X., III.21, rather than on P'awstos.

Trdat, Aršak's brother, who was a hostage. When Nersēs the Great went [to Constantinople], he was honored by the emperor; having congratulated him on the title of his patriarchate, and having given him the son of the slain [Trdat] and many gifts, he sent him back to Armenia. But after the death of Valentinian, the heretic Valens broke the peace with Armenia, demanding the person of Aršak through the general Theodosius. The holy patriarch took Pap, Aršak's son, and went to Theodosius; with him [they reached] the emperor's court.⁵ On seeing the emperor he preached the orthodox faith to him; but as the latter was not persuaded, his son died.⁶ In anger he exiled him [Nersēs] to an uninhabited island with 70 persons for nine months. Through God's grace they were fed on Saturdays and Sundays with fish, which the waves of the waters threw up, with wood and fire.⁷

As they say, the martyr George slew Valens, and his body was consumed by fire.⁸ Then Theodosius the Great took the crown; he brought back the holy ones from the island. With him [Nersēs] he made a council of 150 bishops against the one who fought against the Spirit, (48) anathematizing Macedonius and all those fermented by him.¹ The patriarch Nersēs, confirmed by the witness of the 150 bishops, returned to Armenia. Then Aršak slew Gnel his nephew because of his wife P'arānjem, at the envy of T'irit. Saint Nersēs anathematized him and went to Greek territory, leaving as his successor Xad the bishop of Bagrevand, whose barns became abundant as for the widow through Elias.²

24. At that time Šapuh, king of Persia, went to Atrpatakan. Summoning Aršak, he bound him and had him taken to the fortress called Anuš, where he died by committing suicide with a sword.³ When Saint Nersēs heard of this, he asked

⁵Y.D., p. 49.

⁶This sentence is based on P'awstos, IV.5—not on Y.D., M.X., or Asofik.

⁷This description of Nersēs' exile is based on P'awstos, IV.6. Cf. also M.X., III.30; Y.D., p. 49; Asofik, II.6.

⁸The reference to George comes from Y.D., p. 49. With regard to Valens' death, P'awstos, IV.10, states that Saints Sargis and Theodore killed Valens, but not how. Michael, p. 137, says Valens was burned to death. The *Life of Nersēs*, p. 61, says that in a dream Valens (who was actually killed by lightning) saw Nersēs slaying him with a sword.

¹For the return from exile and the Council of Constantinople, see M.X., III.33; Y.D., p. 50; Asofik, III.21.

²Vardan returns to Asofik, II.1. For the death of Gnel see also P'awstos, IV.15; M.X., III.23; and for Xad, P'awstos, IV.12; M.X., III.31 (the source of the parallel with Elias).

³For the suicide of Aršak see P'awstos, V.7 (with a knife); M.X., III.35 (like Saul—i.e., with a sword). Vardan follows Y.D., p. 50.

the emperor to make Aršak's son Pap king—which indeed he did, sending him to Armenia with a small army in the company of the patriarch Nersēs. On arrival they found the country under the domination of Mehružan Arcruni, the apostate of Christ, and filled with Persian troops. the Persians they attacked and destroyed through the prayers of the saint. Smbat Bagratuni captured Mehružan, and crowning him with a red-hot iron put him to death with ignominy.⁴

So the land was confirmed under Pap's control for seven years,⁵ during which time the Greek general Anatolius built Theodosiopolis, named after the emperor.⁶ But Pap, reprimanded by Nersēs because of his wicked crimes, secretly administered to him a mortal poison in the village of Xax in the province of Ekeleac'. He was buried in T'cil, having held the throne for 34 years.⁷ In his place Pap installed a certain Č'unak for a few days,⁸ and then Šahak from the province of Apahunik', without [the permission of] the metropolitan of Caesarea. He served for four years in the rank of patriarch.⁹

Then the general Anatolius seized Pap by deceit, bound him in iron bonds, and sent him to Theodosius. (49) The latter did not deign to see him, but ordered him to be thrown into the sea.¹ He made king of Armenia a certain Arsacid, Varazdat, for four years.² In the latter's second year Šahak died, and his brother Zawēn, a good man like him, succeeded him for four years.³ But Varazdat, seeking to kill the valiant Mušel, was expelled by the Mamikonean family, and Theodosius exiled him to the island of Thule.⁴ He made Pap's two sons Aršak and Vałaršak kings of Armenia. In Aršak's

third year Zawēn died.⁵ Their brother Aspurakēs, a man of virtuous life, succeeded to the [patriarchal] throne for five years.⁶

Šapuh of Persia and Arcadius, son of Theodosius, divided our country, having made [a treaty of] friendship with each other. Aršak received the Greek sector because of his being of the same faith. But Vałaršak, who had the Persian part, the eastern sector, died.⁷ Šapuh put in his place a certain Arsacid, Xosrov, who three years later was deposed from rule by the slander of the prefects of the country. He installed on the throne of the patriarchate Saint Sahak, son of Nersēs the Great, who served in the holy office for fifty years. But the Persian king appointed in Xosrov's place the latter's brother, Vramšapuh, [who reigned] for fifteen years.⁸

25. In his fifth year and in the first year of Artašir, son of Šapuh, Saint Mesrop arranged the Armenian script.⁹ Twenty-two letters had been invented by the Syrian Daniel from old times.¹⁰ Because they could not render the extensiveness of our language [this script] had been disregarded by his predecessors. They were expanded by the Greek, Syriac, and Persian scripts. Even with these Mesrop was unable to translate the books of scripture into the Armenian language. Therefore he resorted to prayer with the cooperation of Saint Sahak, and God granted his request—fourteen letters which he inscribed with his right hand in front of him:¹¹ as for the great Moses on Mount Sinai, so for him [Mesrop] on Mount Balu.¹² (50) The mark

⁴Y.D., pp. 50–51. But the "small army" is found in Asołik's very brief reference, II.1. Yovhannēs follows Movsēs' version of Mehružan's death (III.37), not that in P'awstos, V.43.

⁵As Asołik, II.1, based on M.X., III.37, 39.

⁶As Asołik, II.1. M.X., III.59, dates this to the next century.

⁷For the death and burial of Nersēs, Vardan follows M.X., III.38, which is based on the longer version in P'awstos. See also Y.D., p. 51 (close to Vardan, but the latter has verbal agreements with Movsēs), and Asołik, II.1.

⁸Č'unak is described as an insignificant person by P'awstos, IV.15. M.X., Y.D., and Asołik ignore him.

⁹As Asołik, II.1, based on M.X., III.39. See also P'awstos, V.29, and Y.D., pp. 51–52. For the permission of the metropolitan of Caesarea, see Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 99.

¹Vardan follows Asołik, II.1, not M.X., III.39, or P'awstos, V.32. Y.D., p. 52, merely says that Pap was killed by Emperor Theodosius.

²As Asołik, II.1, based on M.X., III.40, P'awstos, V.34–37. Cf. Y.D., p. 52—but there six years.

³Only Y.D., p. 52, praises Zawēn; P'awstos, VI.2, castigates him. Movsēs and Asołik give him four years; P'awstos and Yovhannēs three years.

⁴The exile to Thule is mentioned by M.X., III.40, followed by Y.D., p. 52. It does not appear in P'awstos or Asołik.

⁵Second year in Y.D., p. 52.

⁶He is praised by P'awstos, VI.4, 15, and Y.D. Five years as M.X., III.41; Y.D., p. 53; Asołik, II.1.

⁷For the division of Armenia, Vardan is closest to Asołik, II.1, based on P'awstos, VI.1, M.X., III.42. Y.D., pp. 52–53, refers his readers to the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i for these events.

⁸Vardan is close to Asołik, II.1. Cf. M.X., III.42, for Xosrov; III.49 for Sahak; III.50 for Vramšapuh. But he says that Xosrov reigned for 5 years, Vramšapuh for 21, and that Sahak was patriarch for 51 years (III.67).

⁹Y.D., p. 53, also passes rapidly from the division of Armenia to the life and work of Mesrop. But he does not date the invention of the script. Asołik, II.1, says that this fifth year of Vramšapuh was the second of Artašir.

¹⁰Asołik, II.6, says that Daniel invented twenty-nine letters and Mesrop seven. This is echoed by the seven vowels found in some MSS of M.X.'s *History* at III.53 (printed in the edition of Venice, 1865). Earlier writers do not give any numbers. For the inadequacy of this alphabet of Semitic origin to render Armenian, see Koriun, p. 46, echoed by M.X., III.53.

¹¹I.e., 22 plus 14 = the 36 letters of the Armenian alphabet. For God's right hand see M.X., III.53.

¹²Koriun, p. 52, draws the parallel with Moses on Mount Sinai. For Balu, on the right bank of the Aracani (on a direct route from Samosata to Greater Armenia), see H. Hübsch-

of the divinely inscribed rock and the forms of the letters are still shown; and the site is honored perpetually with incense and candles by the local inhabitants, both Muslims and Christians.¹ That an Armenian script existed of old is attested in the time of King Levon. For money was found in Cilicia stamped in Armenian script with the names of the idolatrous kings who descended from Hayk.² The imperfection of this was completed by our new Ezra, filled with divine grace, the restorer and regulator of this new Israel.³

Through these divine gifts he received the rays of the holy Trinity; and with the prophets, apostles, evangelists, the heavenly orders [of angels], and throngs of all the righteous, he entered this land of Armenia and enriched our churches with ineffable beauty for the embellishment of souls and bodies and for everlasting honor—which the Lord of all had not done for every nation. Because not by clever men or by mediators were we instructed and led to Him, but by the right hand that extended heaven and fashioned the world was the script of instruction written out for us.⁴ The record of our Lord and God is alive in our books, giving power and grace to those who approach with faith and reason. Therefore glory, honor, and praise to the one who gave it, and blessing from the Lord on him who brought it to us, and a glorious remembrance of his name in the book of life. To Mesrop, which is “verdant,”⁵ that is, ever-pleasing and fruitful, to our father a place and recollection among the greater saints; and through his prayers to us mercy and pity from God, (51) among the number of his pupils and spiritual sons.

So the patriarch Sahak, rejoicing in the gifts sent from heaven, selected virtuous youths and dispatched them to [various] nations in order to bring

from every nation the art of books: Yovsēp^ς, and Ľevond, Yovhannēs, Abraham, Arjan, Mušē, Eznik, Koriun, and others.¹ Then, a little later, Movsēs, Dawit^ς, Elišē, and Mambrē, the brother of Movsēs.² After these, Arjan Arcruni, Xosrov, and Ľazar the historian. Through these men they translated all the books from the accurate exemplars of Saint Ľevond. Saint Sahak also restored the church of the holy Hrip^ςsimeanc^ς, destroyed by Šapuh; and the relics which had been hidden were revealed to him, on his beseeching God.³ He saw the removal of the monarchy and of the high priesthood from the family of the Pahlavunik^ς, and their restoration in the fullness of time.⁴ He had a single daughter whom he gave in marriage to Hamazasp Mamikonean; from her was born Saint Vardan.⁵ Now the wonderful man of God, Mesrop, crossed into Georgia and made for them also a script through a certain Ĵatēl, who had been a pupil of his.⁶ He went to the Aĥuank^ς also, and fashioned for them a script for their language through Benjamin, who had been a pupil of his from there.⁷

26. After Vramšapuh ended his life in piety, Saint Sahak went to Yazkert to request [as king] Xosrov, who was in prison. He made him king again; but he lived no longer than a year before dying.⁸ On Yazkert's death Vram the second sat on

¹The lists of pupils associated with Maštoc^ς and Sahak underwent development through the ages. Koriun names five beside himself: Yovsēp^ς, Ľevond, Yohan[nēs], Mušē, Eznik. The others are only attested later. For Abraham, a pupil of Ľevond, see T^ς.A., p. 65. (Is he the same as the Abraham mentioned in the *Letter of Ľazar*, p. 202?) For Arjan see Ľazar, *History*, p. 70; M.X., III.60. For Movsēs see M.X., III.61. Dawit^ς is first mentioned by Asoĥik, II.2. For Elišē see the *Life of Sahak*, p. 14. For Mambrē see Asoĥik, II.2. Arjan Arcruni is perhaps the Arjan in the *Life of Sahak* who is associated with Aĥan Arcruni. For Xosrov see Kirakos, p. 7, and esp. p. 28. As for Ľazar, the author of the *History* and *Letter* makes no reference to himself as a pupil of Sahak's. *The Life of Sahak*, p. 14, adds: “and many others, who went to Alexandria, to Byzantium, to Athens, and elsewhere. . . .”

²The following names are in the accusative case, implying that Sahak sent them. But it is possible that Vardan means that later authorities sent them. For in his discussion of these pupils Kirakos, p. 28, adds: “and later Step^ςanos Siunec^ς,” indicating that these persons were disciples in a general manner.

³*Sahak . . . God*: as Asoĥik, II.2. Sebēos, p. 121, says that Sahak was the original builder of the shrine later restored by Komitas, who discovered the body of Hrip^ςsimē.

⁴This is the vision in Ľazar, pp. 28–37. Asoĥik, II.1, gives a brief description.

⁵See Ľazar, p. 37. M.X., III.51, gives her name: Sahakanoyš.

⁶See Koriun, p. 62. There he is named Ĵatay, as by M.X., III.54.

⁷See Koriun, p. 68; M.X., III.54.

⁸Based on M.X., III.55. Asoĥik, II.1, refers to Xosrov's restoration for a year, but not to Sahak's journey.

mann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen* (Strassbourg, 1904), p. 294; S. T. Eremyan, *Hayastanē ēst “Ašxarhač’oyc’”-i* (Erevan, 1963), Map G3. Balu is not mentioned in Koriun, but Vardan's *Geography* gives it as the site of the invention.

¹For the divinely inscribed rock, see M.X., III.53, which has influenced some MSS of Ľazar; see the apparatus to his *History*, p. 15. For the local cult at Balu, see A. Kanalanian, “Mesrop Maštoc^ς dans la tradition arménienne,” *REArm* 3 (1966), 359–67.

²I have found no other reference to this discovery.

³The parallel with Ezra is not made by Koriun or M.X. But see 2 Ezra 7 for Ezra as scribe.

⁴For the right hand see p. 49 at note 11. Koriun, p. 48, speaks of Maštoc^ς right hand fashioning the letters.

⁵*Mesrop*. The explanation “verdant” or “green (*kanat^ςac^ςeal*)” is explained by Ališan (note *ad loc.* in the Venice edition of Vardan) as derived from Arabic *masrur*, “fertile.”

the throne; he planned to bring many evils on the Armenians. When Saint Sahak realized this, he turned to the Greeks and sent Saint Mesrop and his own grandson Vardan to Theodosius, son of Arcadius, who received them joyfully. They appointed Vardan general (*stratelat*), and Mesrop head teacher. (52) Theodosius and the patriarch Atticus ordered schools to be established, providing stipends from the royal treasury. They returned to Saint Sahak and carried out the command.¹

After this he sent Vardan to Vram in order to request a treaty and to make Artašir, son of Vram-šapuh, king. Which indeed he did.² But Movsēs [Xorenac'i] says that after Xosrov Yazkert made his own son Šapuh king; [he reigned] for three years, and when the news of his father's death arrived, he was killed by his troops.³ They say that the land remained in anarchy and confusion for eleven years;⁴ then Artašir became king. He was hated by the princes because of his cruel deeds, therefore they begged Sahak the Great to depose him. But as they did not persuade him, they themselves went to Vram's court and had him summon Artašir and dispatch him to Xužastan.⁵

Deposing Saint Sahak, they set in his place Surmak their fellow-calumniator. But he did not last a year before being expelled. They installed Brk'išo, a Syrian, for one year; and then Šmuēl from the same race. They were dissolute and evil-living men. Disgusted with them, the Armenian princes expelled them and requested Saint Sahak to take the [patriarchal] throne.⁶ He refused them, but never ceased from instruction, suckling his spiritual lambs with heavenly nourishment day and night.⁷ Some say that Surmak held the throne for seven years after Brk'išo and Šmuēl.⁸ But Saint Sahak spent a little time in the province of Bagrevand, in the village of Blur, and died in Christ. [His body] was transferred to Aštišat after the murder of Vram and his son Yazkert gained power. Then, six months later, Saint Mesrop died in Vałaršapat and was buried in the village of Ošakan; a heavenly light in the form of a cross re-

mained above the coffin until it was placed in the tomb. Then Mesrop's pupil Yovsēp' from the village of Hołoc'im in Vayoc'-jor cared for the see as locum-tenens for seven years;⁹ and they say that Surmak performed the ordination while he was still alive.¹⁰

27. Then the princes assembled together and appointed Saint Vardan as locum-tenens for the monarchy.¹¹ (53) At this time Ľevond, Koriun, and Arjan returned from translating. They had been present at the Council of Ephesus, which Theodosius had convened in the eleventh year of his reign to deal with the wicked Nestorius, and they brought thence canons [in] six chapters.¹

As for the Armenian army—some were subject to the Persians, and some opposed them in war when pressure was exerted concerning the faith. For Šavasp Arcruni and Vndoy, great princes who had denied the faith, built in Dvin a temple to Ormizd and a house of fire; and as chief priest they installed Šeroy, Vndoy's son.² When Saint Vardan heard of this, he came with his own force, slew Šavasp, and put the *marzpan* Mškan to flight. The impious Vndoy he locked in the fire temple and burned; Šeroy he hung on a gibbet over the altar; and on the site he built a church named after Saint Gregory. They ordained Yovsēp' Catholicos;³ he convened the synod in Šahapivan, where they established the canon concerning fines.⁴

Two years later an army came from Persia, seized him, Sahak, Ľevond, and the others, put them in prison as advisors of Vardan, and banished the saints to captivity in a distant place.

⁹The description of the deaths of Sahak and Mesrop is based on M.X., III.67. Cf. Y.D., p. 58, and Asołik, II.1. *Seven years*: two in Asołik, II.2; not in M.X.

¹⁰This is from Y.D., p. 58.

¹¹*Locum-tenens*: *tełapah*. Ełiše, followed by later writers, calls Vardan "*sparapet* (general)." But T^c.A., p. 79, says that the Armenian nobles gave Vardan the "oversight (*verakac'ut'ium*)" of Armenia.

¹This is based on M.X., III.61, elaborating on Koriun. But Movsēs and Koriun do not say that Ľevond, Koriun, and Arjak had been *present* at Ephesus.

²Although Vndoy appears in Sebēos, Y.D., p. 59, and T^c.A., p. 78, are the first to associate these events in Dvin with the struggle of Vardan against the Persians in the mid-5th century.

³Y.D. and T^c.A. say that the Catholicos Giwt was brought to the new church. Yovhannēs adds that Yovsēp' was in prison "in the mines"—i.e., in Iran, as indicated by Ełiše and Ľazar.

⁴This reference to the council of Šahapivan convened by Yovsēp' and fines comes from Asołik, II.2. But the council took place much earlier, in 444; see N. Akinean, "Šahapivani zołovin kanonnerē," *Mxit'ar Tōnagirk'* (Vienna, 1949), 79–170. For the frequent use of the word *tugank'*, "fine," in the canons, see Hakobyan's index to the *Kanonagirk'*, I.

¹*Yazkert's death . . . command*. This is based on M.X., III.56–57. Koriun, p. 66, refers to Mesrop's visit to Constantinople, but not to Vardan.

²See M.X., III.58.

³Vardan goes back to M.X., III.55–56.

⁴Three years in M.X.

⁵Vardan follows Asołik, II.1. Cf. M.X., III.63–64; Y.D., p. 56.

⁶See M.X., III.64, followed by Y.D., pp. 56–57.

⁷M.X., III.66; Y.D., p. 57.

⁸I.e., Asołik, II.1.

These happily endured their bonds for Christ's sake; so they [the Persians] were not inclined to remove them for a [long] time. Therefore the Armenian princes came together, appointed Giwt patriarch, and moved the see to Dvin at the command of the same Yovsēp^c, by whose special influence all the Armenian princes had been made subject to Saint Vardan. With them he waged war against the Persians for nineteen years, winning 42 battles, until his death by martyrdom with the blessing of Saint Sahak.⁵ The latter, at the hour of his death on the 30th of the month Navasard, on his birthday, had blessed him and his brothers Hmayeak and Hamazasp; [as did] likewise Saint Mesrop at his death on the 13th of the month Mehekan.⁶ (54) By their prayers and blessing they were strengthened and crowned.

Now at that time the malevolent Nerseh was serving as Yazkert's *hazarapet*; he was approached by prince Varazvaṭan.¹ The latter was the son-in-law of Vasak, prince of Siwnik^c, from the same family, but was hated and persecuted by his father-in-law. He had denied Christ, and instigated him [Nerseh] to the transgressions which he wrought on Armenia. Into the same pit of Satan also fell his father-in-law Vasak. They were the cause of so many calamities that befell Armenia, of which one can learn in the extensive histories. The Vardan-ank^c, 1,232 strong, were martyred on the 30th of Hrotic^c, in the sixteenth [year] of Yazkert.² Two years later the holy priest Samuel and the holy deacon Abraham [were martyred] on the seventh of Hrotic^c. The holy bishop of Basean, T^cat'ik, who had previously been taken to Xužastan, [was martyred] with cruel tortures on the tenth of Hrotic^c. And the holy Catholicos Yovsēp^c, lord Sahak, the holy priests Ľevond, Mušē, and Aršēn, and the holy deacon K^caṗaṗ—these six were martyred on the 25th of Hrotic^c in the land of Apar, to the glory of God.³ The blessed *mogpet* [was martyred] on the

tenth of Margac^c. Asoṭik says: "We have verified the sixteenth year of Yazkert as the third year of Marcian."⁴

28. In those days the holy Movsēs, and Mambrē, and Dawit^c returned from study, concerned for the see of the Catholicosate.⁵ It seems that when the Council of Chalcedon took place, Giwt had died and Yohan Mandakuni had not yet taken office.⁶ (55) When the letter of the confession of faith was brought to them, they did not accept it because it was contrary to the traditions of the holy fathers.¹ But Movsēs and Dawit^c went [to see] if it might be possible to help orthodoxy. For such an account is found among us to the effect that Dawit^c debated with Juvenal at length and with the court chaplain Pulcherius, and the archbishop of Corinth [debated] with Mambrē; and they were silenced and put to shame.² Then Melitos, the metropolitan of Macedonia, stood up and said to Movsēs: "I know you and your pupil were trained from youth and have become expert in the rhetorical arguments of bombastic and supercilious philosophers, and no one can overcome you. But you are consumed with envy because we did not summon you, since your patriarch was not alive." Movsēs said: "So you know us to be elders of the church and judges of the patriarchate; why then did you not summon us, and why do you insult our great learning? Now the reason for your council is not hidden from anyone. But we shall not abandon the truth,

and Abraham on the 7th see Łazar, p. 87. Neither historian specifies the 10th of Margac^c.

⁴But the text of Asoṭik, II.2, reads "15th year of Yazkert" as equivalent to the third of the "accursed" Marcian.

⁵These stories of Movsēs and Dawit^c fighting for orthodoxy do not predate the 13th century. Cf. the version in Step'anos Orbelean, ch. 22, where Peter from Siwnik^c, Mambrē, Eznik, Koriun, and Dawit^c attended Chalcedon and confirmed the faith of the first three councils transmitted by Saint Gregory the Illuminator. A tale in a colophon of 1297 puts Dawit^c and Movsēs in Ephesus in 431; see references in Kendall and Thomson, (*s.v.* David), p. xvii.

⁶But Łazar and other sources indicate that Giwt was Catholicos after Chalcedon. See the discussion in Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 425.

¹No Armenian source claims that any official delegation was at Chalcedon in 451. See T^c.A., pp. 82–83, and Michael, p. 154. For an explanation see below, p. 83.

²This debate is not mentioned by Asoṭik or earlier sources, though Vardan's phrase "found among us" (*ar mez*) implies a written tradition. Michael, p. 153, refers to Armenian philosophers debating with and defeating adherents of Leo. But he names no names, and it is not clear if his allusion refers to the actual Council of Chalcedon. Juvenal is often cited in the *G.T.*, and Melitos is named there on p. 297. Pulcherius is not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps there is confusion with Pulcheria, Marcian's wife.

⁵This account of Vardan's war is greatly at variance with the earlier version in Eḥiṣē and Łazar. It has some parallels with Y.D., pp. 59–60. Asoṭik, II.2, refers to 19 years but not to 42 battles.

⁶M.X., III.67, and other sources describe the deaths of Sahak and Mesrop, but say nothing of blessings bestowed on Vardan and his brothers.

¹The role of Varazvaṭan is described by Łazar; he does not appear in Eḥiṣē's version of this war.

²Eḥiṣē, p. 120, and Łazar, p. 73, both give the figure of Armenian dead as 1,036. They do not give a precise date for the battle, though Łazar says that it took place on the Saturday of Pentecost. It was not in Yazkert's 16th year; Eḥiṣē, p. 141, refers to that year as coming later.

³These martyrs are all named by Eḥiṣē and Łazar; Eḥiṣē, p. 182, and Łazar, p. 101, refer to the 25th of Hrotic^c. For Samuēl

[which is] to admit one nature of the incarnate Word of God." Melitos said: "How do you say one? Do you say the Son is distinguished from the Father and united in the flesh?" Movsēs said: "Not divided from the Father, and united in the flesh."³ And many other such words they spoke.

Hence we supposed that the course of events at the time was like this: Giwt held the [patriarchal] throne for ten years, and died.⁴ He was succeeded by Yohan Mandakuni, a philosopher full of the Spirit of God, who put into good order the rites of ordination and canonical hours, and who [composed] homilies of advice.⁵ It was he who translated the second letter to the Corinthians, and the [epistles] of John;⁶ and many other useful deeds he accomplished during his life. Some say Giwt was Catholicos in the Greek sector and Yohan [Mandakuni] in the Persian sector at the same time.⁷ In their days lived the ascetic Anton, (56) also known as T'at'ul, who with his brother Varos left everything for the sake of Christ, and went to live as a monk in the spot which is now called "Saint T'at'ul."¹

29. Now after the death of our holy martyrs the wicked Vasak took the wife and three sons of Hmayeak to court as if they were the sons of men condemned to death. But Ašušay, *bdeašx* of Georgia, requested them from Yazkert, giving him an unexpected gift.² The eldest of them, Vahan, became *sparapet* of Armenia. For when Yazkert was killed, his son Peroz, having slain his brother, became king, made a treaty with our country, and appointed Vahan royal tax-gatherer.³ Calumniated by some people, he weakened from the faith. But later, heart-stricken, he repented. Rebelling against the king, he smote the Persian army many

times. But Varazvaṭan, who gained control of Siwnik⁴ because of his apostasy, was tormented by demons for many days and was suffocated, unrepentant.⁴ In those days the apostate Vazgēn was slain,⁵ and many other apostates then received the pledge of hell.

After this the Persian general Mihran came with a large army to attack Vaxtang, king of Georgia.⁶ He sent a request to Vahan to help him, and he went willingly. When battle was joined, the cowardly Georgian army fled with their king and also with the cowards from among the Armenians. Saint Vasak, Vahan's brother, was martyred; at the hour he made his preparations his face shone out in glory like that of Moses. Bystanders were unable to look thereon, and realized that he would die on that day.⁷ The holy noble of Siwnik⁴, Yazd, was also crowned, on the 16th of the month Hori at the village of Baguan.⁸ Mihran had captured him, and tried to force him to deny the faith and live in luxury. Having refused, he was killed for the sake of Christ, and crowned. Similarly, the valiant *aspet* Sahak died in the hour of battle for the holy covenant of the faith.⁹ After this Peroz was killed by the Hephthalites, with his seven sons.¹⁰ (57) They made his brother Vaṭarš king. He summoned Vahan, gave him the position of general (*zōravaruṭ'iw*) of the Armenians, and later handed over to him the governorship (*marzpanuṭ'iw*) as well.¹ After Vaṭarš his son Kawat reigned, and after him Xosrov for 48 years.² Vahan [re-]built the churches of Artašat which had been destroyed by the Persians.³ In those times the blessed Teart'ag of the Aršarunik⁴ was martyred by Zarnawuxt the Persian general, and many others with him.⁴

30. Now lord Yohan occupied the throne for six years.⁵ After him lord Babgēn for five years; after

³For Armenian christology see the general discussion in K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London, 1965), with references to earlier works. For some of the technical terms, see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching*, (s.v. Agat'angelos), esp. pp. 18–23.

⁴As Y.D., p. 60; Asoṭik, II.2.

⁵The description of Yohan Mandakuni is based on Y.D., p. 60; a more elaborate account is given by Asoṭik, II.2. Cf. also Kirakos, p. 35.

⁶The translations are not attributed to Yohan Mandakuni earlier, nor by Kirakos.

⁷Is this a confusion of Sebēos, p. 91: the division between the Catholicoi Movsēs and Yohan in the Persian and Greek spheres respectively?

¹See Asoṭik, II.2, who specifies that this is a monastery.

²This refers to Ašušay's unprecedented form of obeisance, Łazar, p. 107.

³*Tax-gatherer*: *harkahan*; not used by Łazar of Vahan. For the "weakening" (next sentence), see Łazar, p. 116.

⁴According to Łazar, p. 85, Varazvaṭan's painful death occurred during the reign of Yazkert.

⁵As Łazar, p. 118, in the time of Peroz.

⁶See Łazar, pp. 132 ff.

⁷Łazar, p. 134.

⁸Łazar, pp. 140–41.

⁹Łazar, p. 135.

¹⁰Łazar, p. 156: "with all his sons."

¹*General, governor*: *zawravar, marzpan*, as Łazar, p. 178.

²As Sebēos, p. 69.

³Y.D., p. 61, and Asoṭik, II.2, refer to Vahan's restoring the ruined churches, but do not name Artašat.

⁴See Asoṭik, II.2. But there the Persian general is named Zarmihir Hazarawuxt, as passim in Łazar. Cf. also M.A., p. 287.

⁵See Asoṭik, II.2, for the list of patriarchs. But there Babgēn is given 3 years, Samuēl 10, Sahak 5, K'ristop'or 6. More details are given by Y.D., pp. 62–63. There Babgēn has 5 years, Samuēl 10, Mušē 8 (as Vardan and Asoṭik), Sahak 5, K'ristop'or 6.

him lord Samuēl for five years; after him lord Mušē for eight years; after him lord Sahak for seven years; after him lord K^cristap^c or the philosopher for seven years. After Vahan had died a good death, his authority passed to his brother Vard for four years.⁶ Some say that Vahan was prince for twenty years, others for thirty-one.⁷ Lord K^cristap^c was succeeded by lord Łevond for two years; and then lord Nersēs for nine years.⁸ In his time Xosrov, king of Persia, sent cavalry to arrest Vard. There was a great battle in the plain of Xazamax, and through the prayers of the holy patriarch Nersēs they slaughtered the Persian army.⁹ At that time Saint Yiztbuzit—which means “God saved”—was martyred in Dvin by the governor (*marzpan*) Varham. For after Vard Persians governed as *marzpan*s. The holy patriarch Nersēs transferred the body of the holy martyr beside the Catholicosate, and built a hewn martyrium over it.¹⁰

In those same days Ezras Angełacⁱ swelled the ranks of orators.¹¹ After Nersēs lord Yohanēs [was Catholicos] for fifteen years; and after him lord Movsēs from Elivard for thirty years.¹² In the tenth year of his patriarchate, the 31st year of Xosrov son of Kawat, (58) and the fourteenth year of Justinian who built Saint Sophia, he established the Armenian era and calendar. At that time the cycle of 532 [years] was completed.¹ The *marzpan* of Armenia, Mežēž Gnuni, held office for 31 years.² When the era was established, there were as bish-

⁶ As Asołik, II.2. Sebēos, p. 67, says “a short time.”

⁷ Sebēos and Asołik give no length of time. Samuēl Anecⁱ gives Vahan 31 years.

⁸ Y.D., pp. 63–64, gives Łevond 3 years, Nersēs 9. Asołik, II.2, gives Łevond 21, and Nersēs 9.

⁹ As Y.D., p. 64; but there “Vardan” for “Vard.” Sebēos, p. 68, has a briefer reference, making clear that the battle occurred during the revolt of the second Vardan Mamikonean in 572.

¹⁰ See Y.D., p. 64; but there “Vahram.” There is a brief reference in Asołik, II.2. For the saint’s relics see below, p. 67.

¹¹ As Asołik, II.2

¹² Y.D., pp. 65–66, gives Yovhannēs 17 years and Movsēs 30. Vardan agrees with Asołik, II.2.

¹ *Era, calendar: t^cuakan, tomar*. There is some disagreement in the Armenian sources here. Y.D., p. 65, places the establishment of the Armenian era (on the completion of the cycle of 532 years) in the tenth year of Movsēs and the 31st of Xosrov—with no reference to Justinian. But Asołik, II.2, places this in the fourth year of Movsēs and the 14th of Justinian who built St. Sophia, and the 24th of Xosrov. Michael, p. 199, notes the disagreement, saying that some place the beginning of the Armenian era in the time of Nersēs, others in the time of Movsēs. Samuēl Anecⁱ and M.A. associate the calendar with Movsēs, s.a. 553. Mxit^car claims that At^canas Taronacⁱ from Glak composed the *tomar* on orders from Movsēs Catholicos. See further Yovhannēs Mamikonean, p. 8. See below, p. 70, for the perpetual calendar; and p. 84 at note 6 for a reference to the calendar in the time of Nersēs.

² 30 years in Asołik, II.2.

ops Petros of Siwnik^c the grammarian, Neršapuh from Tarōn, and Abdišo from Sasun whom Movsēs had consecrated bishop.³ He also [consecrated] as Catholicos of Georgia Kiwrion, who was a native of Georgia from the province of Ĵavaxk^c and the village of Skutri, and who knew Armenian and Georgian literature.⁴

He [Kiwrion] later became a Chalcedonian. For in his youth he had gone to Greek territory, to the province of Coloneia, and had dwelt in the village of Nicopolis on the bank of the river Gayl, and learned Greek. After fifteen years he came to Movsēs in Dvin, and he appointed him priest of the monastery of the holy Cathedral, and also *chorepiskopos* of the province of Ayrarat, for seven years. When the Catholicos of Georgia died, the princes of that land sent to lord Movsēs according to their earlier usage, that he might give them a prelate. He wanted to give them [Kiwrion] as from their own nation. So he went and controlled the whole country. Then there came to him a certain barbarous⁵ Nestorian, called Kis, that is “harshness”—as indeed he became. He was from Coloneia, from the village of Zutařim near Nicopolis; they had been fellow-students and members of the same sect. He ordained him bishop and was destroyed by him with the whole country. When bishop Movsēs, who was in Curtav, which is now called Ganč^cēnk^c, heard of this he informed the patriarch Movsēs. The latter wrote him [Kiwrion] a letter of reprimand and threats, and out of holy fear he completely denied the sect. But after a short time the patriarch died in the 30th year of his patriarchate, and Kiwrion, becoming heedless, accepted the Council of Chalcedon.⁶

31. Now Xosrov, the Persian king, (59) when near to death believed in Christ and summoned the Catholicos Eran, whom lord Giwt had ordained together with other bishops when he came to King Peroz, where he reproved the Persian error.¹ Expecting death, he was baptized by Eran and took communion. A short while later he died, and

³ Asołik only mentions Petros and Neršapuh. The consecration of Abdišo took place around the time of the second council of Dvin; see *G.T^c*, p. 54. (He is called Bardišo on p. 84 at note 6 below.) For Petros of Siunik^c and Meršapuh (not there Neršapuh), see *G.T^c*, p. 70.

⁴ The description of Kiwrion is from Uxtanēs, II.1. For his consecration by Movsēs, see Y.D., p. 65, and Asołik, II.2.

⁵ *Barbarous: xuzik*; i.e., from Xužastan. It also means “rough, uncouth.”

⁶ This paragraph is taken from Uxtanēs, II.1.

¹ The story of Xosrov’s conversion is from Sebēos, pp. 69–70. The text there (and *ibid.*, p. 150) implies that the Catholicos was

the Christians buried him in the royal sepulchers.² His son Ormizd received the crown. But there was a plot against him; he was killed in his own chamber, and his son Xosrov took the crown. Vahram, the commander of the army, rose up against him and put him to flight. Coming to Emperor Maurice, he gained his support; he returned and ruled over his patrimony.³

In gratitude he gave over to Maurice Mesopotamia and that part of Armenia called the *Tanuterakan Gund*—except for the capital of Dvin and the two provinces, the foot of Masis and the flank of Aragac. He left to Maurice the [area] from the mountain called Ėncak'isar as far as the town of Arestn and Hac'iunk'.⁴ [Maurice] was insolent enough to change the names given them by Aray.⁵ What the latter had called Armnin, that is "First Armenia," he called Second Armenia, in which the capital is Sebaste. And Cappadocia, whose capital is Caesarea, he named Third Armenia and made it an *eparchē*. Melitene, which has as homonym its province, he named First Armenia. And Pontus, where the capital is Trebizond, he called Greater Armenia. Fourth Armenia, whose capital is Np'rkert, which they call Mup'ark'in, he inscribed in the royal chancellery as Yustianunist [seat of Justinian]. The land of Karin, whose capital is Theodosiopolis, he called the Greater part of Armenia. And the part of Greater Armenia which belonged to them [the Romans], from the regions of Basean as far as the borders of Asorestan, he named Greater Armenia. The regions of Tayk' with their borders he named Lower Armenia; and the region of Dvin he called Inner Armenia. These names he wrote down in the chancellery.⁶

In those days Smbat Bagratuni valiantly subjected to Xosrov all his enemies. (60) In grateful obligation he gave him the governorship (*marzpanut'wn*) of the land of Vrkan. On going

there he found colonies of Armenian captives dwelling in the great desert of Turk'astan called Sagastan, who had forgotten their language and literature. When they saw Smbat they rejoiced and restored their language and script. He had a priest of theirs, Habēl by name, ordained bishop by the great patriarch Movsēs; he confirmed them as a diocese of Saint Gregory. On receiving permission from the king [Smbat] went to see his own land.¹ On reaching Dvin he began to [re-]build the wooden [church] of Saint Gregory [erected] by Saint Vardan. The garrison of the castle complained to court: "It was dangerous for this castle." So the order was given to demolish the castle and construct it farther away. Rejoicing in God's glory, Smbat built the church with hewn stones, and had lord Abraham, bishop of Rštunik', ordained patriarch.² The latter had made much effort through Peter by letters, but was unable to restore Kiwrion to orthodoxy. Therefore he convened a council in Dvin, and they anathematized the heretic Kiwrion.³ Maurice appointed in his own sector as Catholicos Yohan, who resided in the village of Avan where he built a church. He was a holy man, loved by all.⁴

32. At that time Maurice's princes killed him and made Phocas emperor. Coming to Basean, he tried to subdue Armenia. Ašot advanced, caused an immeasurable slaughter at Xosrov's orders, captured the city of Karin, and transferred its inhabitants to Ahmadan, also leading off the Catholicos Yohan who was in hiding there. He died [in Ahmadan], and his corpse was brought to the city of Avan; he had held the Catholicosate for 26 years.⁵ The holy patriarch Abraham died after twenty-three years of office. (61) He was succeeded by lord Kumitas from the village of Alc'k'.¹

Now after Mežež the Persians appointed to the rank of prince (*išxan*): first Denšapuh, who multiplied adulteries; after him a certain Varazdat; and then Surēn, a relative of Xosrov, who committed

named Eran, not that he was Catholicos of Eran. In his account Y.D., pp. 66–67, does not refer to a Catholicos; nor does Asofik, II.3, in his briefer reference.

²As Sebēos and Y.D.

³These events are discussed at length by Sebēos, pp. 71–84; T^c.A., pp. 85–88; briefly by Y.D., p. 67; Asofik, II.3.

⁴These geographical areas do not correspond exactly with the text in Sebēos, pp. 76, 84, or T^c.A., pp. 86, 88. Vardan here is adapting Y.D., pp. 67–68.

⁵Vardan here follows Y.D., p. 68. Read "Aram" for "Aray" with Yovhannēs, based on M.X., I.14, Samuēl, VII.6, notes that Maurice changed the old boundaries.

⁶For the four Armenias see also above, pp. 14–15. *Armnin* . . . chancellery. This is from Y.D., pp. 68–69, slightly abbreviated. The only alteration is Mup'ark'in for Np'rkert (Martyropolis), which reflects the Arabic Mayafarkin. This form occurs already in Aristakēs (Muharkin), and Matthew of Edessa (Mup'arkin).

¹*Smbat . . . land*. Vardan follows the version in Y.D., pp. 69–70, which elaborates on Sebēos, pp. 96–97. Asofik, II.2, abbreviates Y.D.

²Vardan is closer to Y.D., p. 71, than to the version in Sebēos, p. 100.

³This is based on Y.D., pp. 71–72; but the reference to Petros is from Asofik or Uxtanēs. Cf. above, p. 58 at note 3.

⁴As Y.D., pp. 72–73. Cf. Sebēos, p. 112. There is a brief reference in Asofik, II.2.

⁵For this paragraph Vardan abbreviates Y.D., pp. 73–74. Cf. Sebēos, p. 106, for Phocas' accession; p. 111 for the capture of Karin by *Astat*; p. 112 for the death of Yovhannēs.

¹*Abraham, Kumitas*: as Y.D., p. 74; but there 24 years for Abraham. Cf. Sebēos, p. 112.

adultery with the wives of the nobles. Enraged at him, Vardan the son of Vasak Mamikonean, killed him, and taking his family went to Constantinople.² But Heraclius killed Phocas and made his own son emperor, while he himself marched to the East. Xořem ravaged Greek territory at Xosrov's orders in order to avenge Maurice's death. He captured Jerusalem and the Saving Wood, and also the patriarch of Jerusalem, Zak'aria.³ At that time Patriarch Kunitas expanded the martyrdom of the holy Hrip'simeanc' and came across their holy relics. This caused no little consolation for the Christians. It [the body] was sealed with the ring of Saint Gregory and of Saint Sahak; he dared not break these, but placed his own [seal] on top. The measure of Hrip'simē's stature was ten palms and four fingers.⁴ They say that Saint Gregory was nine palms, and Trdat eleven palms.⁵

33. Heraclius sent ambassadors with gifts to Xosrov to request peace, but he did not respond. Angered, Heraclius took with him his brother Theodosius, twice defeated the Persian army by Antioch,⁶ and marched through Armenia against Xosrov. He was supported by Kavāt, Xosrov's first son, who killed Xosrov and sought friendship from Heraclius, abandoning Mesopotamia to him. Heraclius returned and came to the city of Karin.⁷ In his days lord K'ristap'or had succeeded to the holy throne of Komitas; and deposing him because he was creating discord among the princes, they appointed Ezr Nigac'i. The emperor summoned him to the city of Karin, and he became a Chalcedonian because of his ignorance; he received Ałc'k' and the third of Kołb as the price of his faith.⁸

(62) On his return, Yohan a *vardapet* at the Catholicosate,¹ upbraided him, saying: "Rightly were you named Ezr, because you have gone beyond the limit (*ezr*) of orthodoxy."² He himself [Yohan] went

to Ałuank', to the far end of the province of Gardman, and lived an extremely ascetic life. He wrote three books: one he entitled *Xratavark'* [Admonitory Conduct], one *Hawatarmat* [Root of Faith], and one *Noyemat* [Book of Noah].³ He had a pupil called Sargis who adhered to the Sabellian heresy, so he expelled and rejected him.⁴ In those days King Kavāt died and his young son Artašir became king. When Heraclius heard of this, he urged Xořem to seize the crown by murdering the youth. Which indeed he did. He also restored the holy Cross to Heraclius. But the army slew Xořem and gave the crown to Born, Xosrov's daughter, and after her to Zamrik her sister; and after her [they appointed] Ormizd, Xosrov's grandson, whom they strangled; and [then] they installed Yazkert, Xosrov's grandson.⁵

So Heraclius took the Cross to Jerusalem and set it up in its proper place. At that time he appointed Mežēž general of Armenia. But Dawit' Saharuni put him to death and himself became prince at Heraclius' orders.⁶ He built the church of Mren.⁷ [He held office] for three years, but was then rejected by the princes and expelled.⁸ Great turmoil fell on Armenia as they engaged in mutual rivalry. In those days Ezr enlarged the martyrdom of Saint Gayanē.⁹ Lord K'ristap'or built a hermitage at the foot of Masis, where he led a virtuous life engaged in much zealous prayer, with 300 men who wore hair shirts.¹⁰

At that time 12,000 Jews gathered in Edessa in rebellion against Heraclius.¹¹ He went and besieged Urha, captured it, but released the Jews alive to let them go where they might wish. (63) He

³For these titles see Asořik, II.2.

⁴For the heretic Sargis see Y.D., pp. 79–80; Samuēl, s.a. 645; Asořik, II.2. But none of these says "Sabellian."

⁵*King Kavāt . . . grandson*. For these events see Sebēos, pp. 129–31. Vardan is closer to Asořik, II.3, but the latter does not refer to Zamrik or Ormizd.

⁶Sebēos, p. 133.

⁷Y.D., p. 80.

⁸As Y.D., p. 80. Asořik, II.2., gives him 30 years of office, but Sebēos, p. 133, three.

⁹Y.D., p. 80.

¹⁰Y.D., pp. 75–76; but there "many" for 300.

¹¹The following section on the rise of Islam reflects knowledge of material first found in Mxit'ar Anec'i (whom Vardan quotes by name later; see below, pp. 92, 94, 137). The various accounts in Sebēos, Łewond, T'.A., Y.D., Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, Samuēl Anec'i, Michael, Mxit'ar, Vardan, Kirakos, and the Anonymous ("Pseudo-Šapuh") have been discussed in R. W. Thomson, "Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Literary Tradition," *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian*, ed. D. Kouymjian (Lisbon, 1986), 829–58, and idem, "Armenian Variations on the Bahira Legend," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979–80), 884–95. Here attention will be drawn only to Vardan's direct sources.

²Mežēž . . . *Constantinople*: abbreviated from Asořik, II.2.

³Vardan now turns to Y.D., p. 74. Cf. Asořik, II.3.

⁴*Kunitas . . . fingers*. Vardan abbreviates Y.D., pp. 74–75, based on Sebēos, p. 121. But those sources give Hrip'simē's stature as nine palms and four fingers, as also Asořik, II.3.

⁵Sebēos, Y.D., Samuēl Anec'i, and Asořik have no reference here to Gregory or Trdat.

⁶For the two battles see Sebēos, pp. 114–15.

⁷Sebēos, pp. 127–28.

⁸Vardan is close to Asořik, II.2; but see also Y.D., pp. 77–78, Sebēos, pp. 131–32. None of these refers to Ałc'k' in this connection, for which see Samuēl. Michael, p. 226, also refers to Ezr's "ignorance."

¹For Yohan Mayragomec'i see below, p. 85.

²As Y.D., pp. 78–79; Asořik, II.2.

did not heed his brother Theodosius, who wished to slaughter them. From there they went through the desert to Tačkastan, to the sons of Ismael as to kinsmen, and summoned them to their aid. Some were happy [to help], some not, because their sects were different—as once were those of the Egyptians according to their various cults.¹

34. At that time there was a man from among the sons of Ismael whose name was Mahamat^c, a merchant. He was born in the city of Medina, a two days' journey from Mak^a, from the tribe called Korēš,² the son of Abdla who died leaving him an orphan. He joined a certain merchant, and made progress in his house. When the merchant died, he gained control of his master's house, marrying his widow. He used to go with camels to Egypt.³ A certain hermit named Sargis, of the sect of Arius and Cerinthus,⁴ came across him and taught him [about] God from the old books and [taught him] the book of the *Childhood of Our Lord*.⁵ On his return home he preached what he had heard. But his clan persecuted him. So he went to the desert of P^aran. And when the 12,000 Jews arrived, using them as a pretext, he preached the God of Abraham to the sons of Ismael; and he assured them that if they worshiped him, they would inherit the land that God had given to Abraham.⁶

They obeyed him, and gathered together from Ewila as far as Sur, which is opposite Egypt. The twelve thousand—in accordance with the twelve patriarchs of the tribes of Israel—split into thousands and became twelve groups, appointing a chief for each, whose names were: Nabēot^c, Kedar, Abdla, Marsam, Masma, Iduma, Masē, K^oldad, T^eman, Yetur, Nabēs, Kedma. They went camp by camp from the desert of P^aran to Rabot^c of Moab, and crossed over the Jordan into the portion of Rubēn. (64) Now the army of the Greeks was in Arabia; they attacked them, and Theodore the emperor's brother escaped by a hair's breadth.

¹ This paragraph is based on Sebēos, p. 134.

² Mxit^ar Anecⁱ is the only other source to mention the tribe Kureš. No earlier Armenian source says Muhammad was born in Medina.

³ Abdla . . . Egypt. Vardan is close to T^c.A. for this account of Muhammad's early career.

⁴ Sargis Bxira in T^c.A. and Mxit^ar Anecⁱ. That he was an Arian is known to T^c.A., Movsēs Dasxurancⁱ, Samuēl Anecⁱ, and Michael. Only in the "Letter of Leo" (in the *History of Lewond*) is it suggested that Muhammad was influenced by Nestorian ideas. Cerinthus is mentioned by Samuēl and Mxit^ar.

⁵ Only Mxit^ar refers to this text.

⁶ See Sebēos, p. 135, for Muhammad's preaching of the God of Abraham.

They returned to Arabia, and settled tribe by tribe. All the survivors of the sons of Israel gathered around them, and they became a great army. They sent a message to the emperor to abandon the land that God had given Abraham. His response was a refusal, and he assembled 70,000 troops under a trusted eunuch, whom he ordered to go to Arabia against Ismael. But there they were slaughtered, and the camps of Mahmet were filled with wealth.¹

It was the year of our era sixty-seven.² And because the advice of Mahmet had succeeded, they asked him for laws. He called the site of the temples of the snakes that they worshiped *Al-Kayuba*, which is "gate of God."³ And he called the city where he lived "house of Abraham." Because Christianity was strong [there], they took the idol of Damascus, Remana—which is bald Hephais-tos—and threw it into the desert. Finding it, the Tačiks brought it to the temples of snakes. But the priests of the snakes did not wish to place it there; taking it outside, they made a site for one of its feet on a rock and set it there. Ethiopian merchants stole it for the gold in which the Ismaelites had cast it. So there was a serious war between the two nations until they forgot [the cause]. About this he said: "It is the footprint of Abraham when he came to see his son Ismael. And because Ismael was out hunting, he asked his wife: 'Where is your husband?' She said: 'Go away, you decrepit old man.' Then Abraham said: 'When he comes home, tell your husband: Change the door of your house.' Now when Ismael came [home] and perceived the odor of his father, (65) he questioned his wife, and she told him what she had been instructed. On learning this, Ismael divorced his wife and took another, as far as a seventh. This one begged Abraham to descend from his donkey so that she might anoint his feet. He put down one foot, said [Mahmet], and placed it on the rock; and the rock yielded to his foot. The other foot he did not put down from his beast. For he had sworn to Sarah that he would not dismount, as she feared that he might be with Hagar." This is the fable of Mahmet.

¹ They obeyed . . . wealth. This paragraph is based on Sebēos, pp. 135–36.

² The text of Vardan here reads 67, with a variant noted of 65. The latter figure is given by Movsēs Dasxurancⁱ, III.1, referring to Muhammad's hejira of 622, and by Samuēl. On p. 150 below Vardan refers to Muhammad appearing in the year 60.

³ The earliest Armenian reference to the Kaaba is found in Mxit^ar Anecⁱ. For the following paragraphs Vardan follows the Armenian version of the Karšuni document, the common source for himself and Mxit^ar. See Thomson, "Muhammad," pp. 846–53.

And he ordered that they [should come] there from every region in order to worship, and said that they should go around the rock on one foot and say: “Lbayk^c, lbayk^c,” and as if replying to someone: “Ay, ay, awas, awas.”

Crossing the valley they slaughter an animal, then mounting a beast they flee as far as the hill of Mak^a.¹ And if in their flight some clothing falls or slips, no one is allowed to look behind. Running between the two rocks which they call Safa and Emra, they go from rock to rock seven times without pausing, and throw stones. They say Mahmet did so and so taught. But the running on one foot is because of the single footprint. The slaying of an animal in the valley and the fleeing they say [are because] Mahmet offered sacrifice [to all the demons]² so that they might show him visions; but when they appeared to him, he fled. The going around the two rocks and throwing stones are [because] their rocks were worshiped before the idols; and while Mahmet was worshiping according to his custom, a mad dog attacked him, and he threw stones at it; so he ordered the same thing to be done. Snakes and serpents are not killed because they are worshiped by them; and the slaughter of a dog, they say, is because when Mahmet died they did not wish to bury him, expecting that he would rise up on the third day [like our Lord Jesus Christ, and dogs devoured his face].³ When they realized this, they slew the dogs, and ordered the same to be done on the same month [of each year].

He taught them to say God is one, and that no one is companion to him, and Mahmet is his servant. Those who say, on the word of some Jew, that the prophets spoke about Mahmet as they did about Christ—in this regard they say that Isaiah saw two (66) people riding, [one] on a donkey, [the other] on a camel.¹ And one day, suddenly [by magic]² Mahmet disappeared, and a little later reappeared, saying: “Peace be with you and the mercy and grace of God.” In astonishment they

said: “Whence do you come, and what is this new greeting of yours, and what grace of God did you bring us?” He said: “God took me to Mak^a, to the house of my father Abraham, and explained his wishes. And tomorrow he will send us laws.” Taking a heifer that had given birth, on the public square he separated it from her calf. [Then he wrote whatever he wished, fixed it on her horns, and sent her out to the desert with trusted friends.]³ He ordered it to be released the next day, while he himself remained behind and gathered the crowd. The cow arrived mooing and sweating; and bursting into the crowd, sought its calf. He ordered it to be seized; and taking the piece of paper, he kissed it and said it came from God. Therefore, up to today they write at the beginning of the Quran: *Surat al-bakara*, which is “laws of the cow.”⁴

He ordered them to pray five times with ablutions,⁵ and instead of the trumpets of Israel to summon [the faithful] from high up, taking as witness the saying: “Go up on the mountain of Sion, O evangelist.” And they called the crier *Modin*, which is “he who declares the faith.” The putting of the finger in the ear, they say, is because one hears with the ear willy-nilly. He called Christ the Word of God and Spririt. And they say that he performed a miracle: bringing the moon down, they say, he divided it into four parts; then making it whole again, he sent it back to heaven.⁶

But earlier K^art^c was prince of Ismael; then finding Mahmet, he believed him in everything.⁷

35. When they had become strong, the people of Jerusalem in fright put the Lord's Cross and all the vessels of the churches on a ship and took them to Constantinople.⁸ But they themselves submitted to Ismael, (67) because the emperor was unable to gather another army against them. The latter divided into three parts: one [went] to Egypt, one to Greek territory, and the other to Armenia;¹ and they conquered them all. Those who came to Armenia [marched] through Syria; reaching Dvin,

¹Vardan continues to use the source common to himself and Mxit^ar; see the previous note.

²*To all the demons*. There is a lacuna in the Venice edition. I have added the phrase from Mxit^ar's account. Many editions of Armenian texts that contained opprobrious comments about Muhammad and Islam were expurgated by their editors, especially texts published within the confines of the Ottoman Empire.

³*Like . . . face*. The lacuna in the Venice edition has been filled from Mxit^ar's account.

¹In addition to Mxit^ar's source, this prophecy from Isaiah is discussed also by T^c.A., and at length in the “Letter of Leo.”

²*By magic*; omitted in the Venice edition and added from Mxit^ar.

³*Then . . . friends*: omitted in the Venice edition.

⁴For this paragraph Vardan has again used the Armenian version of the Karšuni document. Mxit^ar Anecⁱ gives the same information, but he does not name the *sura*.

⁵T^c.A. and Samuēl also refer to the Muslim ablutions.

⁶Mxit^ar describes Muhammad's miracles at greater length.

⁷Samuēl gives a long account of the career of Katert^c, who also appears in Mxit^ar. See also Juanšer, ch. 16.

⁸Vardan now returns to Sebēos, p. 136. T^c.A., p. 102, Y.D., p. 82, Asofik, II.4, also refer to the removal of the Cross to Constantinople.

¹Sebēos, p. 137, followed by Asofik, II.4, refers to the third army marching against Persia.

they captured it and slew an incalculable number. They took captive 35,000 people in the time when T^ceodoros Rštuni was prince, who succeeded Dawit^c.² And 10,000 of them smote Procopius the Greek general, who was encamped on the borders of Armenia with 60,000 [troops].³

In those days Ezz died; Nersēs, bishop of Tayk^c, succeeded to the throne following the ten years of Ezz. But being stricken because of the terrible [number of those] slaughtered, he planned to flee as being unworthy of the great rank. However, since many entreated him, he remained. Collecting the multitude of corpses, he buried them and in the same spot [re-]built the martyrium of Saint Sargis that had been burned down. He also built a holy church above the pit [of Saint Gregory], and laid the foundation of the great church on the rock dedicated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator. Beneath its four columns he placed most of the relics of Saint Gregory; but the head he placed in a casket and kept to use for the healing of the afflicted.⁴ They also placed there the relics of Saint Yiztbuzit and of the martyr Dawit^c.⁵ They say that Grigor Mamikon brought the relics of Saint Gregory to Armenia: when he went as ambassador to Constantinople, a certain noble woman who had them in her possession gave them to him. He secretly set sail, crossed over, and brought to the city unbeknown⁶ the treasure of unsurpassed value. He gave the jaw to the Aḡank^c at the request of Juanšēr and his sister, who was Grigor's wife.⁷

36. At that time Emperor Constantine was killed, his step-mother Martina having plotted [against him]. She established her son Heraclonas (*Heraklak*). But the general Valentinus killed Martina and Heraclonas and made Constans, son of Constantine, emperor.⁸ (68) Since Varaztiroc^c had rebelled, Patriarch Nersēs interceded on his be-

half, and he made him *Curopolates* of Armenia. But on taking his appointment he died, and was buried in Darōnk^c beside his father the valiant Smbat. So they put Smbat in his father's rank. And T^ceodoros Rštuni was general.¹

Now Mahmet held power for twenty years;² and after him Omar, Amr, and Bubak^c ruled. They killed Yazkert, grandson of Xosrov, and brought an end to the kingdom of the Persians, which had lasted for 481 years.³ After them Muawiya (*Mawi*) took power. But Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, deposed T^ceodoros from office, and ordered the general of Cilicia to attack Muawiya. Vard, son of T^ceodoros, set a trap for the Greek army by cutting the bridgeheads over the Euphrates when the Greeks were fleeing.⁴ Muawiya made Grigor Mikonean prince of Armenia, and imposed on Armenia a tribute of 500 *dahekan*.⁵ Some say that Grigor took from T^cordan all the relics of the Illuminator; and when [bishop] Israēl came at the command of Varaztrdat, prince of Aḡank^c, he asked for the jaw of the Illuminator. This he took and buried in the place called Glxoy Vank^c.⁶

But because the Armenians were tributary to the Hagarites,⁷ the emperor in anger marched against Armenia. The Catholicos Nersēs in supplication brought him to Dvin, to the Catholicosate, where they took communion together, emperor and patriarch. They were for eight days in council, according to the Greek custom, and they promulgated the Council of Chalcedon.⁸ Now a certain bishop went down from the *bema* and mingled with the crowd. (69) After the emperor had asked the bishop: "Why did you not take communion with your patriarch?" he said: "He indeed was the cause; for two years ago he convened a synod and anathematized all schismatics, especially the Council of Chalcedon." The emperor greatly reproved him for his deceit. And then the bishop also com-

²Sebēos, pp. 138–39; Lewond, p. 9; Y.D., p. 82; Asoḡik, II.4.

³Lewond, p. 8.

⁴Ezz . . . afflicted. This section is based on Y.D., pp. 82–83. Cf. Sebēos, p. 139, for the succession of Nersēs. Asoḡik, II.2, briefly refers to the succession and to the two churches of Saint Gregory.

⁵For the martyrdom of Yiztbuzit, see above, p. 57; and for Dawit^c, below, p. 71.

⁶Unbeknown: *angiteli*. It is not clear whether this is an adjective qualifying "city" (i.e., "to the unknown city") or an adverb. But if Vardan did not know the name of the city, he is unlikely to have used the demonstrative suffix -n, "the." So I translate as an adverb.

⁷For the jaw of Gregory see below, p. 68. Earlier historians do not refer to Gregory's bringing back these relics from Constantinople. See below, p. 85.

⁸Vardan is quoting from Y.D., pp. 84–85. Cf. Sebēos, p. 141.

¹As Y.D., p. 85. Cf. Sebēos, p. 144.

²This is where the *History* of Lewond begins.

³481: as Lewond, p. 7. Sebēos, p. 164, and T^c.A., p. 117, give the number 542. Asoḡik, II.3, says 386; Michael, p. 232, says 418.

⁴See Lewond, pp. 12–13. Vard's treachery is a major theme in the work known as "Pseudo-Šapuh."

⁵Lewond, p. 14.

⁶See Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, II.38, for bishop Israēl and Saint Gregory's jaw. Glxoy Vank^c means "Monastery of the head."

⁷That the Arabs were descended from Abraham through Hagar was accepted by all Armenian historians; see Sebēos, p. 162, Lewond, p. 11. For the phrase here see Y.D., p. 86.

⁸This is based on Y.D., who in turn used Sebēos, p. 167. But the reference to "eight days in council according to the Greek custom" is from the brief account in Asoḡik, II.2.

municated, and he blessed the emperor and the emperor [blessed] him.¹

When the emperor had gone, Nersēs, frightened of the lord of Rštunik^c, went to Tayk^c. Six years later he returned, on hearing of the death of Tēodoros.² He built for himself a residence beside the great church, settled hordes of families to form a community, brought water from the river K'asax, and planted forests and vines.³ With a large congregation he celebrated the feast of Vardavar; they made an antiphon to the [hymn] *Harc*^c eight [times], yet were unable to find a mutually acceptable one. Then he ordered them to choose the most appropriate and to teach that one only; which he did through the holy Barseł, nicknamed Čon.⁴ The latter was the abbot of the holy monastery called Dpravank^c in the province of Ani. Of him they say that he saw Christ seven times wonderfully clearly. Therefore this hymn, which is still celebrated in our churches, is called *Čonēntir* [chosen by Čon].⁵

While Nersēs was in Tayk^c, Tēodoros Rštuni erected buildings on the island of Alt'amar.⁶ The cross dedicated to the holy Theotokos, which is now called [the cross] of Varjia but was then called Čoneanc^c, was taken from Dpravank^c.⁷ Sargis Čoneanc^c took it secretly, on the pretext of [danger from] the Muslims. There it performed miracles through Timothy *vardapet*, curing of leprosy the wife of Demetre, king of Georgia. (70) Therefore they took it away from the Armenians. It had been blessed by Saint Mesrob—or by Barseł, the saintly Čon—and has an Armenian inscription on its right arm.

When Patriarch Nersēs the Great died, he was buried in [the church] he had constructed himself.

¹For this story see Sebēos, pp. 167–68, and Y.D., pp. 86–87; Vardan is closer to Yovhannēs. Asoṭik does not repeat the tale.

²As. Y.D., pp. 87–88. Cf. Sebēos, pp. 169, 175; Asoṭik, II.2.

³As. Y.D., p. 88. *Families: erdumard*, a rare word, being a combination of "roof" and "person."

⁴Kirakos Ganjakeč'i, pp. 61–62, refers to this question of the hymn at a council summoned by Nersēs at Baguan. But he does not refer to the role of Barseł. See further G. Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II," *REArm* 17 (1983), 522–23. For the hymn *harc*^c see also p. 105 below.

⁵Barseł Čon from Dpravank^c is not attested before Vardan. M.A., p. 287, also refers to his sevenfold vision and the hymn called after him in the time of Nersēs the Builder, but erroneously dates this to the 520s.

⁶Sebēos, pp. 169, 172, refers to Tēodoros on Alt'amar but not to his building (*šineac*^c). That is from Asoṭik, II.4. The Continuator to T' A., p. 293, refers to constructions made there by Dawit' Saharuni, Tēodoros' predecessor (see above, p. 67, at note 2), but not by Tēodoros.

⁷For the cross of Varjia, see the reference in *G.T.*^c, p. 534, and the discussion in Muyldermans, *Domination*, p. 91.

Anastas, Nersēs' chamberlain who was from Akoři, succeeded to the throne. At [Nersēs'] order he had built [the church] of Saint Gregory while [Nersēs] was in Tayk^c.¹ In his days Grigor Mamikonean built the cathedral of Aruč and the monastery of Eṭivard; while Anastas built the church of Akoři, established [there] a monastery and hostelry.² To prince Grigor came Surhan, a Persian of royal descent, and requested Christ. He had Anastas baptize him, while he himself acted as his godfather. He named him at baptism Dawit^c, from his own father's name, and gave him Jag in Kotayk^c.³

At that time lived Anania Širakuni, who on orders from Anastas arranged a perpetual calendar.⁴ But while the patriarch was planning to confirm it by a council, he died; Israyēl succeeded him, after Anastas had served for six years.⁵ In his days Nerseh, prince of Georgia, drove off and expelled a certain Muslim general Baṛaba, who was in Armenia.⁶ Israyēl lived for ten years in office, and then died. The holy Sahak, who was from Ark'unik^c in Jorop'or, took the veil. In his seventh year the Xazars invaded Armenia, killed prince Grigor, and took captive as many as they could. Ašot Bagratuni, Smbat's son, took over the principality.⁷

37. Then Muawiya, ruler of Ismael, planned to bring the kingdom of the Greeks to an end, like that of the Persians. He prepared 300 large ships with a thousand men to each ship, and 1,000 small ships with one hundred men to each ship. These he sent by sea, (71) while he himself reached Chalcedon by land. But all the ships were destroyed; he fled by night and escaped.¹ He died in Syria. His

¹*Nersēs . . . Tayk^c*: as Y.D., p. 90. Cf. Asoṭik, II.2.

²See Y.D., pp. 90–91. Cf. Asoṭik, II.2; but he does not refer to Eṭivard.

³For Dawit^c see also above, p. 67. Y.D., pp. 91–92, describes the baptism of Surhan. There is a brief reference in Asoṭik, II.2, and a longer account in Samuēl Anec'i, *s.a.* 672.

⁴*Perpetual calendar: tomar hanapazord*. See above, p. 58, for the earlier establishment of the Armenian era. Y.D., p. 92, followed by Samuēl Anec'i, discusses the significance of this. They both call Anania "Anec'i (from Ani)"; whereas Asoṭik, II.2., calls him Širakac'i (from Širak)."

⁵As Y.D., pp. 92–93; Asoṭik, II.2. Samuēl, *s.a.* 675, notes that he was also called Elias.

⁶This is from Y.D., p. 93.

⁷*Israyēl . . . principality*. This is based on Y.D., p. 93. Cf. also Asoṭik, II.2, who places the invasion in Israyēl's fifth year. (In Armenian 5 and 7 are easily confused.) Neither Yovhannēs nor Asoṭik refers to captives. Instead of Ašot, Y.D. names Smbat, son of Smbat, as prince after Grigor. Samuēl Anec'i, *s.a.* 683, places a Nerseh between Grigor and Ašot.

¹Vardan abbreviates Asoṭik, II.4, who in turn had abbreviated Sebēos, pp. 170–71.

son Mruan took power and sent as governor (*ostikan*) to Armenia a certain Mahmet.² The latter ravaged the island of Sevan and took captive its inhabitants. He despoiled the monastery of Saint Gregory by the following trick. One of the servants he slew and threw into a pit. Then they asked for him, and having found him took [false] vengeance by mutilating the monks. Forty men they hung on a gibbet.³

When Mahmet had gone, he sent another *ostikan* to Armenia, Abdla by name. The latter wished to exterminate the Armenian nobility. Binding the Catholicos Sahak he sent him to Damascus, and likewise Smbat prince of Armenia; Saint Dawit^c he crucified.⁴ The remaining princes of Armenia, Smbat, Ašot, and Vard, wished to flee to Greek territory. But 5,000 Ismaelites pursued them and caught up with them at Vardanakert. There was a battle, and all of them were put to the sword by our princes with God's help. Cutting off their noses, he [Smbat] sent them to the emperor; he received the title of *Curopolates*⁵ after Ašot. The latter built the church of Darōnk^c dedicated to the Image of the Savior,⁶ which his son had brought from the West.⁷ At the dedication he sang [the hymn]: "Whom," in accordance with the Image.⁸

Smbat Bagratuni succeeded him; going to Tayk^c he fortified himself in Tuxark^c.⁹ When Abdlmelik^c heard of this, he ordered Mahmet, who was his general, to attack Armenia. Sahak, in prison, heard of this and wrote requesting that Mahmet command him to come to him. On reaching Xaran he fell ill, and wrote to him begging that he forgive what the Armenians had done to them. When Mahmet read Sahak's letter, he abated his anger and did not come with evil intent to this country.¹⁰ (72) After his twenty-seven years of patriarchate,

Elia succeeded to the throne.¹ Abdlmelik^c died, and his son Vlit^c took his place; he ordered Mahmet to destroy the Armenian nobles by means of a certain Kasim, who was governor of Naxčavan. Deceitfully bringing them together, some in the church of Xram, others in the church of Naxčavan, he burned them in the year 153. The leading princes were hung on gibbets and tortured, their wives and sons led into captivity. Among these was Vahan, son of the lord of Goŋ'n, who was martyred.²

Vlit^c was succeeded by his brother Sliman, and the latter by Umar who martyred Saint Vahan.³ After this Smbat the *Curopolates*, accompanied by the princes, went to Eger; they received from the emperor the city of P'oyt, where they settled. After they had plundered it, and also the vessels of the churches, they came [back] to Armenia. In anger, the Greeks anathematized them in writing and read it out on the feast of Easter.⁴

38. But the great Elia, having gone to Aŋuank^c, by means of Umar exiled in dishonor Nersēs Bakur, who professed the Council of Chalcedon, and the princess who was of like opinion. In his place he ordained another orthodox [bishop]. He himself returned to Armenia, and died after fourteen years of office.⁵

He was succeeded by Yohannēs the great philosopher, who underneath wore a shirt of goat's hair but over it clothed himself in splendid garments; and on his beard that was flecked with gray he sprinkled fine gold dust. Hearing of him, Umar summoned him; seven times he dressed him in royal robes and sent him to Armenia. But on returning, he led an ascetic life of fasting and prayer and illuminating instruction.⁶ (73) He convened a

² According to Asoŋik, II.4, Mruan reigned for two years, followed by his son Abdlmelik^c, and it was the latter who sent Mahmet to Armenia.

³ *The latter . . . gibbet*: from Asoŋik, II.4. However, the reference by name to Sevan is from the briefer account in Y.D., pp. 93–94.

⁴ *Mahmet . . . crucified*: from Y.D., pp. 94–95. For Dawit^c see above, pp. 67, 70.

⁵ *Smbat . . . Curopolates*: from Asoŋik, II.4. Y.D., p. 95, also describes the battle of Vardanakert. The earliest source for these events is Łewond, pp. 23–24.

⁶ For the church and the image see Łewond, p. 16.

⁷ The text here adds *masamb*, "in parts." But Muyldermans, *Domination*, p. 96, has shown that this is a corruption of jewond's *mecask^canc^c zawruŋ^ceamb*, "with splendid power."

⁸ Łewond merely says that he named the church after the image, with no reference to the dedication.

⁹ Łewond, p. 26.

¹⁰ This story of Sahak is found in Łewond, pp. 29–30; Y.D., pp. 96–97; and Asoŋik, II.2.

¹ Y.D., p. 97. Samuēl Anec'i gives Sahak 23 years. Cf. also Asoŋik, II.2.

² *Abdlmelik^c . . . martyred*. The direct source here is Asoŋik, II.4; but see Łewond, pp. 31–33. There is a briefer (if more rhetorical) account in Y.D., p. 98. For Vahan, Asoŋik reads "Vardan, son of Xosrov lord of Goŋ'n." Łewond and Y.D. do not name him nor does Kirakos, p. 65, in his brief reference. But Vardan is a mistake for Vahan, son of Xosrov lord of Goŋ'n, as T^c.A., p. 252.

³ The martyrdom of Vahan, lord of Goŋ'n, is variously dated in the Armenian sources. Vardan follows Y.D., p. 99. But T^c.A., p. 253, and Kirakos, p. 66, place it in the reign of Hišam (724–743).

⁴ *Smbat . . . Easter*: from Asoŋik, II.4, based on the longer account in Łewond, pp. 35–36.

⁵ For this paragraph see the account in Y.D., pp. 99–100; and the longer version in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, III.3–8. Asoŋik, II.2, has only a brief reference.

⁶ This description of Yovhannēs of Ojun is based on Asoŋik,

council at Manazkert with both Armenians and Syrians,¹ and purified the faith from the anthropolatric sect [promulgated] by the perversity of Ezz.²

At that time Umar wrote to Emperor Leo on many topics, including this:³ "We have heard that the Christians are divided into 72 [groups]."⁴ He replied that there are twelve: "Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians, Syrians, Armenians, Saracens, Persians, Aṭuank⁵, Georgians.⁵ So why are you, he said, called: K⁶uzi, Sabri, T⁷urabi, Kntri, Murji, Basli, godless Jhdi who deny the existence of God, the resurrection, and your claimed prophet, [and] Hariri? These last are two: one hates you and the other does not like causing trouble.⁶ Your writings were composed by Umar and Abut⁸urab and Suliman the Persian;⁷ Haḡaḡ the governor of Persia tried to pervert them.⁸ But ours are unchanged because they are from the holy Spirit. During the captivity none of the writings perished, but they remained in the possession of the dispersed [Jews]. So when Ezz put into writing the whole [collection], they were found to be in agreement with the old one.⁹ [The number of books] is equal to the number of the letters of the alphabet, although five are double, not without great significance."¹⁰

Now at the command of Umar the holy patriarch Yohannēs expelled from the land of Armenia the Greek [rite] that had spread into all areas. A

II.2, and the longer version in Y.D., pp. 100–104. Neither of them name the caliph. Kirakos, p. 67, says it was Hešm.

¹See Asoṭik, II.2.

²For Ezz see Asoṭik, II.2, and Michael, p. 254. For the term "anthropolatric (*mardadawan*, "confessing a man")" see Asoṭik, III.7, where it is used of the Chalcedonians, and III.21, where it is used of Nestorius.

³The letter of Umar and Leo's response are given in the *History* of Lewond. There are references to these letters (without quotation) in T⁴.A., p. 105, and Kirakos, p. 66. For the text of the letters as given by Lewond, see S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, CSCO, Subsidia 41 (Louvain, 1973), app. 2; he shows that they are not authentic and have been interpolated into Lewond. Vardan is the first author to quote from the Armenian text of these letters.

⁴Lewond, p. 44.

⁵Lewond, pp. 62–63 has: Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Chaldaeans, Syrians, Ethiopians, Saracens, Persians, Armenians, Georgians, Aṭuank⁶.

⁶Lewond, pp. 60–61.

⁷Idem, p. 58.

⁸Idem, p. 63.

⁹Idem, p. 55.

¹⁰I.e., the books of the Old Testament are reduced to 22 because in five cases two books are taken together: Judges and Ruth; Jeremiah and Lamentations; 1 and 2 Kingdoms (Samuel); 3 and 4 Kingdoms (Kings); 1 and 2 Chronicles. Cf. *Jubilees*, II.23. (The alphabet is the Hebrew one, not the Armenian.)

prince named Vasid¹¹ was sent by Leo as ambassador to Yohan, saying: "Why do you do this wicked deed?" The prince fell ill; but although many doctors were summoned, they were unable to help and he drew near to death. But when Saint Yohan placed his hand [on him], he was immediately cured. Seeing these miracles, he believed in our orthodox faith and returned no more to Greek territory. He became a monk and lived an ascetic life for fifteen years in the cave which was called Hoṛom-ayr after his name.¹² (74) The cross which is [there] the prince had with him on coming from Roman territory, and there it remained. Yohan died after eleven years and was succeeded on the throne by Dawit⁶ Kotayec⁶i from the village of Aramawnk⁶, which had been continuously in the patrimony of the Catholicosate since the days of Trdat.¹ There he built a church; and he passed there the days of his life for thirteen years, harassed by the Muslims in Dvin.² He was succeeded by Trdat from the village of Ot³mus, a good and virtuous man, who by the vigor of his prayers was [a promoter of] peace, for twenty-two years.³

39. Now Umar was succeeded by Izit, who removed from the land crosses and images, and slew pigs; eventually he was strangled.⁴ After him Hešm reigned, who sent his brother Mslim as far as Bithynia with 70,000 cavalry.⁵ On coming a second time [the army] was drowned by the power of Christ's cross; only 50 men survived. And the emperor released Mslim to expound the glory of God.⁶

Hešm sent Mruan, son of Mahmet, to Armenia. On arriving he appointed Ašot Bagratuni *Curopa-*

¹¹Probably a scribal error for the Greek name Vasil. This story is unattested elsewhere. Gero, *Iconoclasm*, pp. 141–42, discusses the episode in light of Leo's policy.

¹²H. Oskean, *Gugark⁶i Vank⁶erē* (Vienna, 1960), pp. 33–42, gives no historical source for this monastery before Vardan. Kirakos, p. 72, refers to Dawit⁶ from Hoṛomayr among the Armenian *vardapets* of the early 8th century. Vardan derives Hoṛomayr from Hoṛom, "Roman," and *ayr*, "man." The latter is close to *ayri*, "cave." Cf. p. 88 note 3, below.

¹Y.D., p. 104, adds that the village had belonged to the Catholicosate from before the time of the torments inflicted on St. Gregory by King Trdat!

²As Y.D., p. 105. Asoṭik, II.2, has a passing reference to the 13 years.

³23 years in Y.D., p. 105; Asoṭik, II.2, and Samuēl Anec⁶i. Yovhannēs and Samuēl give brief descriptions of Trdat.

⁴See Lewond, p. 100; T⁴.A., p. 105; Asoṭik, II.4; M.A., p. 291.

⁵Lewond, p. 104, says 80,000; Asoṭik, II.4, merely says "with a large army."

⁶Lewond, pp. 110–11; Asoṭik, II.4. Neither gives the figure of 50 survivors, though both say the army was composed of 50 times 10,000 men.

lates, or so to say, *Patrician*.⁷ The Mamikoneans Smbat and Dawit^c and Grigor were jealous of him.⁸ Mruan went to Varač'an, the city of the Huns, and returned victoriously.⁹ After Hešm the dissolute Vlit^c reigned; he was slain on the orders of the *Ku-rayk^c* [readers of the Quran].¹⁰ Suliman was installed, but Mruan killed him and ruled himself.¹¹ They gave to the Armenian army each year 100,000 *dahekan* as pay.¹² Mruan took Damascus and put its inhabitants to ignominy: for he bound men to four posts and had their faces skinned for their impiety, murderousness, and desire for debauchery. They did not expect punishment from God.¹³

(75) About that time the princes of Armenia plotted revolt, but the *Patrician* Ašot was unwilling. The Mamikoneans Grigor and Dawit^c seized and blinded him.¹ This Ašot is the ancestor of both the Armenian and the Georgian kings.² Then the two Abdilas, sons of Hešm, came forth and for two years made war against Mruan, causing very much slaughter with the sword. At one time there fell 300,000 soldiers, and Mruan was killed. So the Abdilas reigned, who demanded taxes even from the dead.³ They sent to Armenia Izit, a cruel oppressor, and then Bak^cr, and then the ferocious Hasan.⁴ Embittered against the last, Mušet Mamikonean revolted; he killed two hundred of the Ismaelites, and then 4,000.⁵ But then deceived by a monk, who related visions and false dreams and said that the times of Ismael had been fulfilled, 5,000 [Armenians] gathered together, their leaders being Mušet and Smbat. They fought against 30,000,

and three thousand were killed, including Mušet and Smbat.⁶

40. After Trdat another different Trdat succeeded to the holy throne for three years; then Sion, bishop of Aġnik^c, a holy and wonderful man; he made a dried-up fountain at the foot of the mountain called Sim flow in abundance by striking it with his staff.⁷ After eight years he died, and lord Esayi from Eġpatruš took the throne. They say that his mother had raised him in poverty, in the open air, by begging, afflicted by cold in winter and burned by the sun in summer. Of his mother they say that when some people reprimanded her at the gate of the patriarchate, she said: "Do you not know that I am raising my child to be patriarch?" Which indeed he became—first bishop, and then patriarch by the grace of God.⁸

After thirteen years he died, and Step^canos succeeded to the throne for two years, (76) and then Yob for six months.¹ In his days forty men were calumniated by the *ostikan* and put to death in the village of Bagrevand for the sake of the golden vessels of the church; and they seized a great treasure.² After Yob, Solomon succeeded to the throne; he was from Gaġni, abbot of the holy monastery of Mak^cenoc^c. He had gone to the province of Širak, to the village of Zresk, and entering a cell led a very ascetic life. They dragged him out from there and took him to the throne. Seeing that he was greatly weakened by his austerities, they said: "Where are you going?" He replied: "To paint my face in black with the other patriarchs"—as indeed happened. After one year he died, and was painted with the others. Geōrg from Aragac-otn succeeded him.³

Now after Abdla his son Mahmet [ruled]. He sent to Leo two bushels of mustard seed followed by an army, but was unable to cause any harm.⁴

⁷Lewond, p. 112, and Asoġik, II.4, refer only to the title of *patrik*.

⁸This seems to be a confusion of Lewond, p. 112, who refers to the "sons of Smbat," and then to Dawit^c and Grigor.

⁹Lewond, pp. 113–14. But he refers only to the "land" or "regions" of the Huns. Varač'an is defined in the *Ašxarhac^c oyc^c* as the "city of the Huns" (L.R., *Asia*, §18; S.R., *Asia*, §23). There are several references to the city in Movsēs Dasxuranc^ci.

¹⁰Lewond, p. 115; Asoġik, II.4. Only Lewond describes his character.

¹¹Lewond, p. 116; Asoġik, II.4.

¹²This reference to pay is found in Lewond, p. 113, referring to the reign of Hešm. The term *xacit^cay* (Arabic for "share, instalment") is only found in Lewond and here.

¹³Lewond, p. 117, who expands on the references to Damascus in Amos, ch. 1; as also Asoġik, II.4. Michael, p. 257, refers to the capture of Damascus, but not to the fate of its citizens.

¹See Lewond, pp. 123–24. Asoġik, II.4, does not refer to Dawit^c in his brief account.

²See below, pp. 81–82, for an exposé of Ašot's descendants.

³Lewond, pp. 125–27; more briefly in Asoġik, II.4.

⁴Lewond, p. 136. Asoġik, II.4, only refers to Izit.

⁵A confusion of Lewond, p. 140, where Mušet slays 4,000 with 200 of his own supporters.

⁶For the monk see Lewond, p. 141; and for the defeat, idem, p. 150.

⁷For this passage on ecclesiastical history Vardan turns back to Y.D., pp. 105–6. There are references to the succession of patriarchs in Asoġik, II.2; but he does not repeat the story of the miracle.

⁸Y.D., pp. 107–8. There are brief versions in Asoġik, II.2, and Saumlēl Anec^ci.

¹As Y.D., p. 108. Asoġik, II.2., gives Yob six years; but the confusion between months (*amis*) and years (*ams*) is easy in Armenian.

²See Y.D., pp. 108–10.

³Solomon . . . him: from Y.D., pp. 110–11. Asoġik II.2, merely says that Solomon was patriarch for one year. (I have not found other references to the painting of defunct patriarchs.)

⁴Lewond, p. 156.

41. The survivors of those who fell in the great battle were the following:⁵ two sons of Smbat, son of Ašot, whose names were Ašot and Šapuh; and a brother of Samuel's named Šapuh; then two sons and four daughters of Mušeł, the eldest being named Šapuh. These had taken refuge in the land of Vaspurakan and were both killed by Mehružan Arcruni, as if the great disaster had been caused by their father. One of their sisters gave herself in marriage to a certain Muslim Ĵahap, making him her protector.⁶

Now the sons of Smbat, Ašot and Šapuh, divided equally their patrimony. And since Ĵahap had seized a part of Aršarunik^c and was planning to gain control of the whole land through his wife, Ašot and Šapuh took that [province] for themselves too. Advancing through the regions of Širak, they attacked the Muslim army that was there, and appropriated for themselves Širak and Ašoc'k^c and the province of Tayk^c. Gaining such good fortune, the valiant Ašot built Kamax and settled his family there. He himself resembled his ancestor Smbat, son of Biurat, (77) prince of Smbatavan, which is Baberd in the province of Sper.¹ For one day the enemy surrounded him while he was at prayer; on seeing this he did not interrupt his conversation with God until he had finished.² Then he went out to attack them, cut in half their leader, whose name was Liparōn Abdla, and killed about 500 men. The clan of the Gnumik^c appealed to him to extricate them from the Ismaelites. So coming with 1,000 men to the province of Añovit, and gathering around him all the clan with their effects, he brought them to Tayk^c, where he settled them.³

At that time, since the Muslims had fallen into mutual conflict, the land of Armenia was quiet and our princes began to gain strength in each one's area. The ruler of the Muslims gave the land of Georgia to Ašot, son of Atrnerseh, son of Vasak, son of Ašot prince of Armenia. Going [there], he

subjected it to himself. And the emperor sent him the honor of the title of *Curopolates*. But Ĵahap rebelled against his own prince; coming to Dvin he occupied it by force with his son Abdlay. When the *Curopolates* Ašot saw this, he sent to Emperor Leo [requesting him] to give him aid. But the latter was not free to do so because a certain Michael had attempted to kill him. He had not succeeded, and when the emperor heard of it he wished to put him to death. But he was entreated by the empress [to delay] until Easter day had passed; therefore he was put in prison. The jailer was a friend of Michael's who had bribed the *manglabitai*⁴—who are the royal courtiers and intimates. These unexpectedly fell on the emperor with their swords in the church at the hour of the liturgy. He fled to the altar which he grasped. But they mercilessly slew him on the spot like wild beasts. So Michael became emperor.⁵

He went out to seek the great general Manuel Mamikonean. The latter hastened to Kamax, where he took refuge with 150 men. From there [he went] to Mamun, the prince of the Muslims, who had killed his brother (78) Mahmet and was ruling himself over the Tačiks. He greatly honored him, provided a stipend of 1,306 measures of silver per diem, and other immeasurable and incalculable presents daily.¹

Now Ašot the *Curopolates* ruled from Klarĵeti as far as Tiflis (*Tp'xis*), including the mountainous region. But the house of Ĵahap, having grown powerful in Dvin, intended to attack Tarōn, the principality of Ašot, son of Smbat, with about 5,000 men. However, this wise and valiant believer counterattacked them with 200 cavalry and 300 foot soldiers, without waiting until the troops had assembled. He slew 3,000 of them, reached their camps, seized all their riches, and returned in joy praising Christ. His brother Šapuh, raiding the area of Dvin, seized a great booty and returned. The army left the city empty in his pursuit, so the citizens fell on Abdlmelik, killed him, and closed the city gate. When the army returned and discovered what had happened, they melted away and disappeared.²

⁵For the battle see above, p. 75. Lewond, pp. 162–63, refers to Mehružan Arcruni, but does not mention the fate of the survivors of the battle.

⁶See A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, trans. by N. G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1976), p. 33 ff.

¹For Smbat, son of Biurat, and Smbatawan see M.X., II.37. Vardan has confused Ani on the Axurean with Ani Kamax to the West; see above, p. 45 note 8.

²The Continuator to T^c.A., p. 301, tells a similar story of Gagik finishing his prayers despite a warning that the enemy were approaching.

³Liparōn Abdla and this episode are not attested in other Armenian historians.

⁴*Manglabitai*: *manklawikk'*, rendering the Greek term.

⁵No other Armenian source describes these events. According to Theophanes Continuatus, §22 ff, the festival was Christmas, not Easter. Michael became emperor on Christmas Day in 820.

¹This is not found in other Armenian sources.

²This is not found in other Armenian sources; but see Ter-Ghewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 33–34.

42. In those days a bishop, Epikura by name, came to Ašot and tried to convert him [to the theology] of Chalcedon. When Buret, a certain *vardapet* in Mesopotamia, heard of this, he dispatched the deacon Nana, who came and disputed with Apikura, defeating him by the power of the holy Spirit.³ So the prince expelled him and was confirmed even more in the faith of Saint Gregory. After this Ašot died in his bed, and Smbat his son took the principality for one year. Then, having fought against 4,000 with five hundred men, he was martyred in Christ by the Ismaelites. His brothers Dawit^c, Sahak, Mušel^c, and Bagarat took their mother and went to Np^crkert, to the emir Xalaf, (79) by whom they were received in a friendly fashion. But when a certain Sewada from the house of Ĵahap fought with 4,000 against Ašot and his brother Šapuh, the latter died in the battle.¹

Two months later Ašot died in his house, and his son Smbat took over the principality; he cared for the surviving orphans, Šapuh's sons, and settled them safely in Ani. Having made peace with Sewada, he received from him the patrimonial title of *asparapet*.² He married the sister of Dawit^c and begat two sons, Ašot and Šapuh; their sister was given in marriage to Bagarat, son of Ašot the *Curpalates*. And Dawit^c, the brother of Smbat, built the castle of Ōj.

In those days a man of Persian descent named Bab went out from Baghdad; he put many of the race of Ismael to the sword, and many others he took captive.³ He called himself immortal. On one occasion he slew 30,000 in his war against Ismael. He came as far as Gełark^cuni, and put to the sword

both great and small. Mamun was in Greek territory for seven years, and captured the inaccessible fortress of Lulua before returning to Mesopotamia. Manuel went again to Greece. Mamun died and his brother Abusahak took the throne. He sent Ap^cšin with all his forces against Baban. Ap^cšin sent word to Armenia, and in person slaughtered the army of Baban. Sahl, son of Smbat, seized Baban and received from Ap^cšin gifts worth a thousand thousands of measures of silver, and an additional 100,000.⁴ Cutting off Baban's hands and feet, they hung him on a gibbet. Then Ap^cšin went to the land of the Greeks (80) and defeated the emperor. He captured the city of Amorium, and taking its [population] captive, returned in peace.¹ In those days a certain Ablhert^c from the house of Ĵahap went with 4,000 to the land of Siwnik^c. Babgēn opposed him with two hundred and completely exterminated him.

43. Now in the order of patriarchs Yovsēp^c succeeded Gēorg for eleven years; he was followed by Dawit^c for thirteen years.² In his days a certain *ostikan* named Hawl came to Armenia; Smbat and Sahak, the lord of Siwnik^c, rebelled against him and were killed.³ Yovsēp^c [sic!] was succeeded by Yovhanēs, a holy and virtuous man. But eight years later he was falsely slandered to Bagarat, prince of the Taurus mountain, who planned to depose him; but his calumniators were punished by the Lord.⁴ A certain *ostikan* by the name of Abusēt^c came; binding Bagarat he sent him to the emir. But the population of the Taurus was stirred to anger and killed Abusēt^c. On hearing of this, the emir gathered a large army under the command of his servant Buła, whom he ordered to bring the princes of our land to him in bonds. He came and carried out the command. For entering Tarōn, he seized the sons of the captive Bagarat, Dawit^c, and Ašot, and also Ašot the great prince of the house of the Arcrunik^c. He tried to force the handsome Atom with 150 men to deny Christ. But since they did not agree, they were crowned by Christ with

³This episode is not found in early Armenian historical sources. M.A., p. 292, adds that Nana wrote a commentary of the Gospel of John. For further information about Nana and Armenia, see the Introduction to the Armenian version of the commentary (ed. Ćrak^cean), and L. Mariès, "Un commentaire sur l'évangile de saint Jean rédigé en arabe (circa 840) par Nonnus (Nana) de Nisibe, conservé dans une traduction arménienne (circa 856)," *REArm* 1 (1920), 273–96. (Cf. below, p. 82.) Mariès rejects the identification of Epikura with Sahak Mrut, called Apikureš, mentioned in Asołik, III.2; he accepts Marr's earlier identification with Theodore Abukara = Abu Qurra; "Epikoura–Aboukara," *REArm* 1 (1920), 439–41. Buret is Abu Raita.

¹For Sewada see J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour par M. Canard (Lisbon, 1980), p. 136.

²Sewada had married a Bagratuni named Aruseak; see Y.D., p. 113.

³For the revolt of Baban see the long account in Movsēs Dasxuranc^c, III.19; also Michael, p. 274, who calls him Babek (Papak^c in the Armenian text, p. 371).

⁴T^c.A., p. 191, refers to "Sahl, son of Smbat, who seized Baban."

¹Michael, p. 274. M.A., p. 293, refers to the capture of Amorium by Apusahl.

²Vardan returns to the list of patriarchs interrupted from p. 76 above. See Y.D., pp. 113, 115; and Asołik, II.2. But Y.D. gives Dawit^c 27 years; Asołik and Kirakos, p. 77, give him 25.

³See Y.D., pp. 113–15.

⁴See Y.D., pp. 115–17. For Yovsēp^c in Vardan's text, here read "Dawit^c."

cruel tortures of sword, fire, and cross, on the 25th of the month Meheki, which the holy patriarch Yovhanēs established as a feast day.⁵ He himself died after twenty-two years of his patriarchate, (81) and Zak'aria from the village of Jag took the throne.¹

Buḡa arrested the prince of Sisakan, Vasak, and his brother Ašot, the great prince Atrnerseh in the province of Xač'en, and the prince of Gardman, Ktrič. Going to Uti, he seized Step'anos Kon, whose clan are called Sewordik' after their ancestor Sewuk, and the prince of Aḡuank', Esayi.² All these he marched off to the chief emir. Later he summoned the *sparapet* Smbat by deceit; when he arrived they added him to the captives and demanded apostasy. The valiant confessor Smbat did not accept this, but there in prison was put to death in Christ, and was buried in the tomb of the prophet Daniel. Ašot his son received his office. Step'anos called Kon was also martyred with many tortures in the same spot.³

Grigor Mamikonean, having valiantly preserved his faith, came out of prison and went to his own province of Bagrevand. He wished to fortify himself in the province of Gabeṭeank' in Gazanacakk', but seven days later he died.⁴ When the *ostikan* in Armenia, Mahmet, learned of this he sent word to Ašot, son of Smbat, that he should seize him [Grigor] wherever he might be, and bring him to him. Cutting off the head of the dead man, he sent it to him saying: "He wished to cross into Greek territory, but I sent after him and killed him; here is his head." Mahmet rejoiced and informed Ĵap'r. At the latter's command he honored Ašot by giving him the province of Bagrevand and 50,000 [pieces of] silver. Thenceforth the clan of the Mamikoneans was effaced from the land of Armenia.⁵

⁵*Abusēt' . . . feast day.* See the long account in Y.D., pp. 117–25. T^c.A. describes the invasions of Abusēt' and Bugha in even greater detail. Vardan is closest to the brief exposition in Asoṭik, II.2.

¹Y.D., pp. 127; Asoṭik, II.2. But Asoṭik gives Yovhannēs 25 years, before mentioning Zak'aria. M.A., p. 294, says that Zak'aria received all the orders from deacon to Catholics in one day.

²See Y.D., p. 127; Vardan is less close to Asoṭik, II.2. Sewuk is attested only here and in Y.D.

³Y.D., pp. 129–31. (He adds here that for the following period he is drawing on the [lost] *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni). Cf. Asoṭik, II.2.

⁴The release of Grigor Mamikonean is not mentioned by earlier historians.

⁵Cf. Laurent/Canard, p. 311 and notes; and J. Muyldermans, "Le dernier prince Mamikonien de Bagrevand," *HA* 40 (1926), 168–69.

44. But here we must speak about the origin of the kings of Armenia and Georgia, who descended from the Bagratunis. For as was said [above], after the valiant Vardan there were princes for Armenia according to circumstances, down to Smbat Bagratuni.⁶ After him [was] Ašot, son of Vasak, whom the Mamikoneans blinded.⁷ He had two sons: Smbat, ancestor of the kings of Armenia, (82) and Vasak, the founder of the kings of Georgia. The latter's son was Atrnerseh, his Ašot, his Bagarat, whose brother was Goram. After him [came] Bagarat's son Dawit', who was killed by his uncle Goram. His son [was] Atrnerseh, his son Dawit', who had a nephew Gurgēn. The latter's son [was] Bagarat, who took as wife the daughter of Senek'erim, king of Vaspurakan.¹ That is the order.

Now Smbat, the ancestor of the [kings of] Armenia, had a son Ašot Msaker; his son [was] Smbat the Confessor.² His son was this Ašot the Pious, who was named prince of princes by Ali, son of Vahē, on the orders of Ĵap'r the chief emir.³ Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 318 sent the metropolitan of Nicaea, John, to him [Ašot], bearing a letter for Zak'aria in response to the question: "Why was the fourth council held?"⁴ A council was convened in Širakavan, attended by the Syrian deacon Nana;⁵ he had been brought close to death by Ĵap'r on account of the faith, but was released because of a fearful vision.

It was written [in the letter]: In the 315th year after Christ's resurrection took place the Council

⁶See above, p. 68.

⁷See above, p. 76.

¹For the genealogy down to Atrnerseh IV see Laurent/Canard, chart facing p. 462; continued by C. Toumanoff in *The Cambridge Medieval History IV: The Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 782. But Vardan has omitted several steps. For Senek'erim see below, p. 92. His daughter was called Miriam; see Juanšēr, p. 112.

²Smbat was called "confessor" because of his refusal to apostatize; see above, p. 81.

³*Ali*. This episode is described by Y.D., p. 133; Asoṭik II.2 and 5; and Samuēl Anec'i. (The latter follows Y.D.'s eulogy of Ašot.)

⁴Asoṭik, III.2, notes that "Sahak . . . wrote a reply to the letter of Photius"; Samuēl Anec'i, *s.a.* 878, indicates that Photius had written to "Zak'aria our patriarch"; while Kirakos, p. 80, states that Photius wrote to Ašot and Sahak replied. (M.A., p. 294, echoes Kirakos in adding that Photius sent to Zak'aria a piece of the wood of the Cross.) The text of Photius' letters is not quoted by historians before Vardan. That addressed to Ašot, with Sahak's reply, is found in the *G.T^c*. For the text of the letter to Zak'aria, see *s.v.* Photius in the Bibliography, below. For a discussion of its (in)authenticity and connection with other Armenian sources, see Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 372–75. For John of Nicaea see below, p. 85 at note 5.

⁵For Nana see above, p. 78. The council of Širakavan was held in 862. See further the *Letter* of Photius, p. 196.

of Nicaea of the 318 [fathers].⁶ The patriarchs were: Silvester of Rome, Alexander of Constantinople, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Aristakēs of Armenia. Seventy-four years later a second council was held in the fifth year of Theodosius. The patriarchs were: Damasus of Rome, Nectarius of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, John of Antioch, Nersēs of Armenia. (83) Forty-seven years later,¹ in the second year of Theodosius the Less, the third council was held. And the patriarchs were: Celestine of Rome, Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem. And a letter of Sahak of Armenia [was sent to the council].²

After this appeared Eutyches the archimandrite of Constantinople, who said that the nature of Christ was one by confusion. Expelled by Patriarch Flavian, he begged a certain chief eunuch named Oskewan³ to write to Dioscorus to give the order that he be received—which indeed he did. But later he repented and convened another council at Ephesus, 22 years after Cyril's, and there he exiled Flavian, rejected the letter of Leo, and deposed Domnus of Antioch. Concerning this a letter of censure came to Theodosius, and [he gave] a command that a council be summoned so they might investigate it again. He died in the Lord, and Marcian convened [the council] in the 462nd year of Christ's resurrection, five years after the death of Saint Sahak. In that year the holy Vardanank⁴ were killed, during the patriarchate of Yohan Mandakuni, who did not have an opportunity to come to the council.⁴ At the council [Marcian] exiled Dioscorus, and Peter from Antioch, and Anatolius, the

brother of Dioscorus—first to Cyzikos, then to Heraclea, and then to Paphlagonia.⁵

When Marcian died six years later, Leo took the crown for 19 years. Timothy was exiled by him to Cherson. Leo the Less for five years, Zeno for 16 years. The latter ended the trouble of the Council of Chalcedon, but Rome preserved heresy.⁶ Anastasius for 27 years; he remained in the same orthodoxy and restored Timothy to Alexandria.⁷ Justin for nine years. He renewed again the heresy of the council.⁸ Justinian for 33 years, Justin [II] for nine years. The latter wished to confirm orthodoxy, (84) but was strangled in a conspiracy.¹

Tiberius for seven years; in his time was held a council in Constantinople, and the Armenians did not accept it.² Maurice for 23 years. Phocas for eight years. Heraclius for 35 years. Constantine for three years. Constans,³ grandson of Heraclius, for 29 years. In his time Martin convened a council in Rome, and declared that Christ had two wills and two energies. Constantine for 13 years. In his time Agathon convened a council and confirmed that of Martin.⁴ Justinian for two years. Leo for 3 years. Apsimaros for seven years. Justinian for 7 years. Philip Vardan for two years. Artemios for 2 years. Theodosius for two years. Leo for seven years. Constantine for 15 years. Leo for five years. Nicephorus for 6 years. Staurakios for one year. Michael for one year. Leo the Armenian for 10 years. Michael for one year. Theophilus for one year. Michael for 2 years. Basil, in whose time [lived] Photius who wrote the letter.⁵ He also said that there was no opposition [between Constantinople and Armenia] down to the last Nersēs, in whose time was fixed the Armenian era, 104 years [after Chalcedon].⁶ It was he who then convened a

⁶Vardan abbreviates the content of the Armenian text of the *Letter*; see p. 188, lines 10 ff.

¹47. The *Letter* reads 45; p. 191, line 11.

²The text of Vardan is obscure, reading merely "and a letter of Sahak of the Armenians." According to the *Letter*, p. 191, Cyril of Alexandria and Proclus of Cyzicus wrote to Sahak; the latter accepted the council and anathematized Nestorius.

³*Oskewan*: as in the *Letter*, p. 191, line 1; i.e., Chrysaphius. See Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 85.

⁴The *Letter*, p. 193, gives the figure 462, but has no reference there to Sahak, the Vardanank⁴, or Yovhannēs Mandakuni. Earlier, p. 180, the *Letter* says that ten years after the death of Saint Sahak the Council of Chalcedon was held, in which year Vardan was martyred in the province of Artaz. The Armenians were unable to attend the council because of danger from the Persians; therefore the reason for the council was not accurately known in Armenia. But there was no opposition to it, and everyone accepted Chalcedon until the council of Dvin. See further p. 84 of Vardan, where he returns to the earlier part of the *Letter*. On pp. 54–55 above, Vardan discusses Armenian absence from the Council of Chalcedon; cf. T^c.A., pp. 82–83.

⁵This sentence is not in Photius' *Letter*. See Timothy Aelurus, *Widerlegung*, p. 147, for the exile of Dioscorus to these places.

⁶This paragraph is not in Photius' *Letter*, nor does it appear in Y.D., Asofik, Kirakos, or Michael. There is a reference to Zeno reestablishing orthodoxy in Michael, p. 170. Zeno is cited frequently in the G.T^c. as a pious emperor; cf. Y.D., p. 61.

⁷Asofik, II.6, says that Zeno restored Timothy.

⁸Cf. Michael, p. 176 (not a direct source here for Vardan).

¹Asofik, II.6, merely says that Justin (II) was orthodox.

²Asofik, *ibid.*, says that the Armenians were defeated (*partec'an*) at this council.

³The text of Vardan has the form *Kostandin* for both Constantine and Constans.

⁴There is a reference to Agathon in G.T^c, p. 300. But his and Martin's councils are not mentioned by earlier Armenian historians.

⁵The preceding list of emperors is not in Photius' *Letter*. The lengths of reign are often different from those in the table of emperors in Asofik, II.6.

⁶See the *Letter*, p. 181, for no opposition down to Nersēs (II)

council in Dvin through Bardišo, the Syrian who had come from Sasun.⁷ And they translated the writings of Philoxenus, bishop of the city of Mabbug, and those of Timothy the Cat.⁸

In the sixteenth year [of the Armenian era] the vengeful Vardan killed Surēn the Persian governor. He himself with his family went to Justinian in the 30th year of his reign.⁹ On the feast of the Elevation of the Cross he did not communicate with us, saying "Our teachers (*vardapets*) do not permit us."¹⁰ Therefore the emperor convened a council of 150 bishops, which is called the fifth council. When Mušel subjected the kingdom of Xosrov with Armenian and Greek troops and returned with gifts, there was a discussion about the faith. So Maurice convened a council of 160 bishops; twenty-five of the bishops were from Armenia.¹¹ Heraclius convened the seventh council, (85) but Yohan Mayrovanec'i did not accept it.¹ T'eodoros Rštuni and Nersēs banished him to the Caucasus. But later he came to Armenia and did what he wished.² The Armenians were separated from the Greeks with a good number of anathemas, and even more so when they had the writings of Julian of Halicarnassus translated by Sargis at the council of Manazkert.³

These points have been abbreviated from the letter of Photius. To it Sahak called Mrtut wrote a reply.⁴ He was bishop of Tayk' at Ašunk'; expelled from there because of the faith, he came to Armenia to Ašot.

Ašarakac'i. But "Photius" does not refer to the Armenian era. Since the Armenian era was arranged to start retroactively in 552 as year 1, Nersēs was then Catholicos. But the calendar was drawn up at a date after 552; see above, p. 58 note 1.

⁷Bardišo: *Abdišo* from Sasun in the *Letter*, p. 181, and in Vardan above, p. 58.

⁸*Letter*, p. 181.

⁹As the *Letter*, p. 181; but there placed in Justinian's 17th year.

¹⁰*Letter*, pp. 181–82.

¹¹*Council of 150 bishops . . . Armenia*. This is abbreviated from the *Letter*, p. 182. But the text of the *Letter* reads 21 for 25 (bishops from Armenia).

¹As the *Letter*, p. 182. But "Photius" does not specifically number the council of Heraclius as "the seventh."

²*Letter*, p. 182. Vardan's text, p. 85, here reads "Mayrovanec'i" for the "Mayragomec'i" of the *Letter*. On p. 62 above, Vardan does not give Yovhannēs a further title. Cf. the *Letter*, pp. 193, 195.

³*Letter*, pp. 182–83.

⁴Asofik, III.2, calls him Sahak Apikureš. Kirakos gives "Isahak" no title; and his is not mentioned by Y.D. The text of the *Letter*, p. 214, says that the response was written by Sahak at the command of the prince of princes. (The text in the *G.T.* adds the name Ašot.) The following information about Sahak is not attested before Vardan.

45. Again [sent] by the same emperor Basil there came a eunuch named Nikit in the year 325 to ask a crown from Ašot, bringing many gifts, because a certain Vahan, bishop of Tarōn, had told him [Basil] that he was an Arsacid.⁵ For his mother was an Armenian, and the vision of Saint Sahak seemed to be being fulfilled, that an Arsacid would reign.⁶ So he wished to be crowned by the Bagratid. This Ašot did, and he also sent with him [Nikit] 10,000 [pieces of] silver as a gift for the newly built church—just as they say the Mamikoneans bought the western door of Saint Sophia from Justinian for five bushels of silver, as a memorial for the Armenians.⁷ Nikit reported: "We found the relic of Saint Gregory the Illuminator during Lent in the fifth week on Saturday," which they made a festival.⁸

In those days lord Zak'aria went to see Yisē, son of Šex, and was greatly honored by him. He gave him many gifts and [permission] both to carry a banner with a cross on top and to enter his presence at all times.⁹ He was succeeded by Gēorg from the palace of the patriarchate.¹⁰ In his days the great Ašot extended [the borders of Armenia] into Georgia and Ałuank', and subjected the inhabitants of the Caucasus. He lacked nothing save a crown—so thought the princes of Armenia;

⁵This episode is first attested by Vardan, though earlier Samuēl Anec'i had said that Basil was born in Armenia. The later M.A., p. 294, refers to Nikit bringing to Armenia the cross of Hořomayri; see also below, p. 129. N. Adontz, *Etudes arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 95 ff, recognizes Nicetas as the eunuch, and identifies Vahan of Tarōn with the Chalcedonian John of Nicaea, mentioned above, p. 82.

⁶The vision is found in the *History of Lazar*; it proclaims the restoration of the Arsacid line and of the patriarchal line of Saint Gregory in 350 years. Adontz, *Etudes*, considers the vision to have been invented in Constantinople on the accession of Basil (an Armenian) to promote his "royal" standing.

⁷See above, p. 61, for Vardan Mamikonean in Constantinople. That the Armenians then acquired the western door of St. Sophia is first attested in Armenian by Asofik, II.2. M.A., p. 288, also gives the price as five bushels of silver. In the *Narratio*, §82, the gate of St. Sophia is called "Armenian" because the Armenians agreed there to union. The question of "buying" it is first attested by Arsenius. See Garitte, *Narratio*, commentary *ad loc.*

⁸For the relics of Saint Gregory see also pp. 41, 67, 68. Kirakos, p. 14, expands on those taken to Constantinople in the time of Zeno, revealed in the time of Basil, and brought back to Ašot by a eunuch. There the festival is described as Saturday of the sixth week of Lent.

⁹This episode is not mentioned before Vardan. M.A., p. 294, also refers to the gift of a banner (*alam*; but *drawš* in Vardan) surmounted by a cross.

¹⁰Y.D., p. 137, and Asofik, II.2, indicate that he was from Gařni. Asofik does not give the reference to the palace (*tann*, "house") of the patriarchate; whereas Y.D. says that he was from among the inmates of the palace: *yēntaneac' tann ka'ohikosaranin*.

through Yisē they informed the chief emir. He with joyful heart sent crowns and robes and horses. The same things were sent also by Emperor Basil. (86) Lord Gēorg blessed the crown in the year 336, in the twelfth year of his patriarchate and in the 888th year of the birth of the Lord. Over five years he effected a notable organization of the kingdom.¹

In his days lived Hamam, who wrote a commentary on the Proverbs and on the Grammar [of Dionysius Thrax], and on Job's "Who is it that translated this?"² And he composed a book on the blessings which are at the headings of the psalms, and a book *Anbicsn* [the pure].³

King Ašot appointed as prince of Georgia his own nephew; he himself died in Christ aged 71. His son Smbat took the crown in the year 344 for twenty-four years, with the consent of Leo, son of Basil, who reigned after his father for 26 years. He was a man rich in gifts and not like a Roman, for he was the son of an Armenian and greatly loved the Armenians.⁴ So Smbat, after receiving this [royal] status, built [the church of] Saint Savior in Erazgawor, which is Širakavan—where indeed he was anointed.⁵ For it was the capital of the Bagratid kings until the city of Ani had been expanded, which is called *Xnamk*⁶; although the inner fortress bore this name and had been built at an ancient date. Here the noble Awta had kept safely the sister of Trdat and the idols and treasures of the Arsacid kings after the death of Xosrov.⁷ And when Trdat returned from Greek territory, Awta

and Tačat his father-in-law, lord of Ašoc^c, went out to meet him in the province of Ekeleac^c. This Tačat was the one who informed the king that Gregory was the son of Anak.⁸ They say that a nobleman, paralyzed in the feet, fortified himself in the inner fortress and refused to come to baptism when the Armenians were converted, until Saint Gregory discovered a way [to persuade him]. He disguised himself, came opposite the fortress, and rolled down until he fell into the water. Then he suddenly stood up and praised (87) God in a loud voice as if, having been disabled in his feet, he had been healed by the power of the water. When the nobleman saw and heard this, he summoned him; and on being instructed, was baptized and healed in his feet as a sign of spiritual medicine.¹

46. Now the honorable King Smbat was strangled in Dvin for Christ's sake by Yusip^c, the Muslim *ostikan*, and exposed on a cross. His son Mušet too was poisoned by Yusip^c as a martyr to the Lord, and buried in Bagaran with his fathers.² For seven years the land was in anarchy, ravaged by sword and captivity.³

Then Ašot, Smbat's son, who was also known as "Iron" because of his manly strength, took refuge with Leo the Greek emperor, called Constantine.⁴ In his days there were put to death in Christ the glorious and great princes Dawit^c and Gurgēn from the house of the Gnunik^c in the city of Dvin by the impious Yusip^c, and they were crowned with martyrs' blood. Their day of martyrdom is celebrated on the 20th of the month Mareri.⁵ Saint Sahak the bishop, with 200 persons and seven ecclesiastics, was put to death in Biwrakan, on the tenth of Aheak;⁶ and the two Kirakos on the 17th of the same month.⁷ Their glorious feast was established by the holy patriarch Yohannēs, who saw with his own eyes that gloomy time and wrote [his

¹Y.D., pp. 139–40, describes Ašot's coronation by Gēorg and the crowns he received from the caliph and the emperor. Asofik, III.2, does not provide these details, but he is the source for the precise figures: 336, 12, 888, and for the five years of reign.

²Job 38:2, with confusion of 42:18 (in the LXX and Armenian).

³See Ps. 118:1. Vardan's source here is Asofik, III.2. M.A., p. 294, says that Hamam composed a commentary on Proverbs and fixed the last division (*grubtay*, "collection") of the psalter; he adds that Hamam was also named Yovhannēs Bagratuni.

⁴Ašot . . . *Armenians*. Vardan relies on Asofik, III.3; Asofik expatiates on Leo's generosity and the fact that there is no word for that virtue in Greek.

⁵For the church see the description in Y.D., pp. 183–84, and Asofik, III.3.

⁶This etymology is also found in M.A., p. 295. Brosset, *Analyse*, suggests that *xnamk*^c is based on the meaning of the Greek *ania*, "grief, or distress." But since the Armenian *xnamk*^c means "care, protection, solicitude," either a form of *aineo* (to praise, approve) is intended, or—more likely—the etymology is based on a confusion with Ani Kamax. For confusion between these two cities called Ani, see the next note.

⁷Vardan has confused Ani in Širak with Ani Kamax in Ekeleac^c; see above, p. 77 note 1. For Awta see also above, p. 39.

⁸See M.X., II.82, based on Agat'angelos, §121.

¹I have found no other reference to this tale.

²See Asofik, III.4–5. Y.D., pp. 218–25 has a long rhetorical account. T^c.A., p. 285, refers to the capture of Smbat, but not his death, in order to justify Gagik's crown. For Smbat's death see also Samuēl Anecⁱ, s.a. 362 (A.D. 915), and M.A., p. 295.

³As Samuēl, s.a. 363. Asofik, III.5, is the common source; but the printed text reads 5 (years) with 7 as a variant.

⁴Asofik, III.6.

⁵See Y.D., pp. 252–54, and Asofik, III.5, for long accounts. The text of Yovhannēs reads 27 (*iē*) for the 20th (of Mareri). But the letters should be inverted to read "which is (*ē*) the 20th (*i*)."

⁶See Y.D., pp. 340–51.

⁷Y.D., pp. 352–53.

History] as a memorial for future generations;⁸ as also the feast of the saintly King Smbat.⁹

Then Ašot, crowned by Leo, in the year 370 returned to Armenia.¹⁰ He found his namesake Ašot, son of his uncle, reigning as king, whom he subjected to himself, as also [he subjected] Gagik king of the house of the Arcrunik^c, and Movsēs tyrant in Ałunk^c, whose eyes he blinded.¹¹ Being recognized as more mighty than they and than Nerseh king of Georgia, he was entitled *Šahanšah* over them.¹² After reigning for eight years he died,¹³ and Abas his brother took the crown. Following the death of his father, he went to Georgia; having married there,¹⁴ he returned in the year 371 and ruled over all (88) his patrimony for twenty-nine years.¹ In his days vast numbers of monks were expelled from Roman territory for the sake of orthodoxy. Coming to our land, they built many monasteries:² first Kamrjajor, then the monastery called Hořomosin—as if they had come from the regions of the Romans—and Dpravank^c.³ It is said that the [monastery] of the Holy Mother of God of Sanahin was built by them.⁴

King Abas also built the cathedral at Kars in beautiful style.⁵ In his days there came Ber, the prince of the Sarmatians who [live] beyond the Caucasus, with a large army along the river Kura. When he heard that the king of Armenia was engaged in building a church, he sent word to him: “Know forthwith that I have come to dedicate your church according to my religion, following the definition of the Council of Chalcedon.” But he [Abas]

opposed him with the Armenian army, put all his troops to the sword, and capturing Ber brought him alive to Kars. Having made him look once at the church, he then put out his eyes and ransomed him to his own nation, receiving a written oath that they would never again come to Armenia.⁶

47. Following the Greek emperor Leo, Alexander took the crown for one year, and after him Romanus for twenty-nine years.⁷ In his days and in those of Abas, Melitene was captured by the Muslims in 383; and in 388 Hamdun entered Coloneia with an army and returned.⁸ Then Constantine, son of Leo, reigned in 392 for sixteen years. (89) In his sixth year, in 398, he took Maraš from the Muslims.¹ They say of him that he slew five lions in one day. He had all the baggage of the Turks thrown into the river Halys, and put the troops of Ismael to flight; so he was called *Tʿrkʿazotov* [Turk/dung-gatherer].²

Now after lord Yohanēs there succeeded to the holy throne lord Stepʿanos for one year; lord Tʿeodoros for eleven years; and after him his brother lord Elišē for five years; and after him lord Anania Mokacʿi for twenty-two years.³ The last with great effort brought Siwnik^c into [ecclesiastical] subjection, which had been led into independence by the Ałunk^c.⁴ He ordained as archbishop after the rebellious lord Yakob lord Vahan from Bałk^c, son of prince Ĵuanšēr⁵ who built the splendid monastery of John at the foot of the inaccessible fortress of Bałk^c. But when he had brought the

⁸Y.D. explains his attitude to history in the Introduction to his *History*, esp. pp. 3–5, and refers to the work as a memorial in his supplementary letter, p. 366.

⁹For Smbat see above, p. 87.

¹⁰Asořik, III.6, does not give a date. Samuēl dates Ašot's reign from 370.

¹¹For this Ašot see Y.D., pp. 293–94; Asořik, III.4–5; Samuēl, s.a. 923. Only Y.D., pp. 301–4, refers to Movsēs.

¹²The title *šahanšah* is explained by Y.D., p. 315, and Asořik, III.6.

¹³Asořik, III.6.

¹⁴Asořik, III.6.

¹Asořik, III.7, and Samuēl Anecʿi, s.a. 378, give Abas 26 years of reign beginning in 378 (A.D. 929).

²Asořik, III.7, mentions only the future abbot of Kamrjajor being expelled from Egeria by Chalcedonians (*mardawan*, as above, p. 73 note 2), not “vast numbers.”

³The founding of Kamrjajor, Hořomosin, and Dpravank^c is described by Asořik, III.7, and by Samuēl, s.v. Abas; but neither offer this explanation of “Hořomos (Roman).” Cf. above, p. 73, for Vardan's etymology of Hořom-ayr.

⁴Sanahin is not mentioned here by Samuēl. Asořik, III.8, refers to the founding of Sanahin and Hałbat in the reign of Abas' son, Ašot.

⁵For a description of the church, see Asořik, III.7. Samuēl, s.a. 379, gives a brief reference.

⁶This paragraph is taken from Asořik, III.7. He says that Ber was prince of the Apʿxazians from the land of the Sarmatians. M.A., p. 295, calls Ber “prince of the Apʿxazians,” and adds that Abas made a drinking cup out of Ber's skull. Samuēl has a brief reference to Ber, s.a. 384.

⁷Asořik, III.6, gives Romanus 22 years. Samuēl gives Alexander 3 and Romanus 28.

⁸*Melitene, Coloneia*: Asořik, III.7.

¹See Asořik, III.7; and Samuēl Anecʿi under those dates.

²Samuēl attributes these actions to Constantine Copronymus, s.a. 193 (A.D. 746), as also Kirakos, p. 71. Vardan has changed the Tačiks of his sources to “Turks” in order to make a pun on Copronymus: *tʿrkʿazotov* could mean either “gatherer of dung (*tʿrikʿ*)” or “gatherer of Turks (*tʿurkʿ*).”

³Vardan here agrees with Asořik in calling Elišē the “brother” of Tʿeodoros. But Asořik, Samuēl, and Kirakos agree in reading 7 for 5 (a common confusion of *e* and *ē*). Asořik omits Stepʿanos from the succession.

⁴For the troubles in Siunik^c see Kirakos, pp. 85–86.

⁵*Vahan*: Vahanik in Asořik, III. 8. Neither Samuēl nor Kirakos mention Vahan's father. None of these sources says that Anania ordained Vahan. (Kirakos says, p. 87, that Anania ordained “an archbishop” for Siunik^c, and that Vahan followed Anania as patriarch.) Ĵuanšēr's monastery dedicated to John is not mentioned by these sources, nor by Movsēs Dasxurancʿi or the historian Ĵuanšēr.

Ahuank^c into acquiescence, their Catholicos was not ordained without [the permission] of the throne of Saint Gregory.⁶ After him [Anania] Vahan from Bałk^c held the throne for one year. He was then minded to link himself with the Georgians, and he had images introduced.⁷ Therefore they deposed him and put on the throne lord Step^canos from Sevan, a kinsman of Saint Maštoc^c, for two years.⁸

48. Now in the year 400 the holy King Abas died and his son Ašot, called the "Merciful," took the crown.⁹ He built many leper houses and provided them with liberal stipends, frequently serving them in person. Willingly he drank their liquid pus in a cup, calling the lepers princes and *curo-palates*, according to James: "If they are rich in faith."¹⁰ In 413 he built the small wall of the city of Ani and turned all the towers into churches.¹¹ (90) His pious wife Xosrovanoyš built the splendid holy monasteries of Sanahin and Hałbat.¹ They fell asleep in Christ in 425, leaving three sons: Smbat, Gagik, and Gurgēn.² On that very day the oldest son Smbat, who was called "Master of the world," took the crown.³ He built the great wall of Ani and laid the foundations of the cathedral.⁴ The younger brother inherited Tašir with the Sewordik^c of Joroyget, also Kayen and Kaycon, Xorxorunik^c which was founded by Xoř, that is Xošořni and Xořakert, and also Bazunik^c, which is Bazkert

in the province of Tašir.⁵ Other famous castles fell to Gurgēn, [the region] which the Georgians call Somxēt^c.⁶ From him descended the kings Dawit^c, Abas, and Kiwrıkē; and their wives Mamk^can and Ruzuk^can [became] nuns.⁷ Gagik lived for a short while with his brother, but was then expelled for suspicion of treachery. But Smbat, attaining the year 428, died.⁸ Immediately they summoned the exiled Gagik, gave him the crown, and married him to Katramitē, daughter of Sahak king of Siwnik^c. She completed the cathedral, exhorted by an angel of God who promised to aid her in the task and to remain in that very church until creation should see Christ coming.⁹

Lord Xač'ik, a relative of lord Anania, succeeded to the holy throne for nineteen years.¹⁰ He was followed by lord Sargis for 24 years. The latter built the martyrion of the holy Hrip'simeanc^c beside the cathedral of Ani. Thither they transferred their relics with great ceremony, and established the day as a great festival.¹¹

49. After Emperor Constantine, Leo took the crown, (91) then Constantine and his mother Irene; she blinded her son and ruled herself for five years on the imperial throne.¹ In her days were martyred in Christ Sahak and Yovsēp^c; Muslims (*tač'ik*) by race, on the 15th of Arac^c.² She was fol-

⁵ Gagik's holdings are not given by earlier sources.

⁶ *Somxēt*: Georgian for "Armenian." For its use in a restricted sense for Tašir and Gugark^c, see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Wetteren, Belgium, 1963), pp. 474–75.

⁷ For Mamk^can and Ruzuk^can see L. Movsesian, "Lori et l'histoire de la famille bagratide arménienne Kurikian (traduit et annoté par F. Macler)," *REArm* 7 (1927), 251–52. Mamk^can was the wife of Abas, and Ruzuk^can the wife of Dawit^c. See the table in *The Cambridge Medieval History* IV, p. 784, for the Bagratid kings of Lori: Gurgēn, Dawit^c, Kiwrıkē. Abas was ruler of Tawuš; see Ač'aryan, *Dictionary of Names*, s.v. Abas, no. 13.

⁸ 428: sic! Asořik, III.29, says 438. Samuēl gives Smbat 13 years, 429–441. Kirakos, p. 88, also gives the length of reign as 13 years.

⁹ According to Asořik, III.30, the father of Katramitē was named Vasak. Her completion of the cathedral is described by Asořik; Samuēl, s.a. 1010; and briefly by Kirakos, p. 89. None of these mentions the angel.

¹⁰ Asořik, III.9, notes that Xač'ik was the nephew of Anania. Kirakos, p. 88, calls him a "relative (*harazat*)," which is closer to Vardan's *azgayin*. Asořik and Kirakos give him 19 years; Samuēl 21.

¹¹ For Sargis see Asořik, III.32. It was he who commissioned Asořik's *History*, *ibid.*, I.1, and colophon. Samuēl, s.a. 993, and Kirakos, p. 88, also give him 24 years. But none of these refers to his building the martyrion of the Hrip'simeanc^c.

¹ Vardan returns to an earlier period, Constantine being the fifth, Copronymus. Cf. above, p. 89 note 2. For this passage see Samuēl, s.a. 797, and Kirakos, p. 76. The account in Michael, pp. 264 ff, is not Vardan's direct source.

² See Samuēl, s.a. 798; Kirakos, p. 76. They both place the martyrdoms in the reign of Nicephorus who followed Irene.

⁶ As Kirakos, p. 86, there referring to Siwnik^c.

⁷ Asořik, III.8, refers to Vahan's Chalcedonian leanings, but not to images; Samuēl refers to the internal schism. However, Kirakos, p. 87, specifically mentions Georgians and images. Cf. below, p. 116, for the suggestion that Vahan went to Vaspurakan.

⁸ Asořik, III.8, describes Step^canos and the ensuing schism in Armenia. Samuēl and Kirakos give him two years of patriarchate.

⁹ Asořik, III.7, places Abas' death in 402, as does Samuēl. The title "merciful (*ořormac*)" for Ašot is found in Samuēl and Kirakos, p. 87. Asořik, III.11, calls him "blessed (*awrħneal*)."

¹⁰ James 2:5. The story of Ašot drinking lepers' pus comes from Asořik, III.8. His benevolence to the poor is stressed by Samuēl.

¹¹ Asořik, III.11, describes the walls built by Ašot's son Smbat, but not the small rampart (*p'ok'r parisp*).

¹ For the building of Sanahin and Hałbat, see Asořik, III.8. The role of Xosrovanoyš is first mentioned by Samuēl Anec'i, s.a. 408.

² Asořik, III.11, says that Ašot died in 426; he does not here refer to his wife or the younger sons Gagik and Gurgēn.

³ Asořik, III.11, says "on the same day," but does not give the title *tiezerakal* ("master of the world"). Samuēl and Kirakos, p. 88, refer to Smbat as *šahanšah*. The Anonymous (Pseudo-Šapuh), p. 161, says that Smbat I (not II) called himself *tiezerakal*.

⁴ As Asořik, III.11; Samuēl, s.a. 429; Kirakos, p. 88.

lowed by Michael, and then Leo, and after him Michael, then Theophilus, after him Michael, then Basil, after him Leo, then Alexander, after him Romanus, who expelled the orthodox monks to eastern lands.³ He wished to seize also the monasteries of the Black Mountain, when he went with a large army to the regions of Aleppo. But by the Lord's anger, he fled on foot alone, escaping by a hair's breadth.⁴ After him Constantine son of Leo, then Romanus, then Nicephorus, then Kiwi-Žan, and then Basil for fifty-two years.⁵

50. Now concerning the origins of the Georgian kings, it is set down in their books that T'orgom came to the province of Ayarat with eight sons after the great flood.⁶ Three of his sons were preeminent: Hayos, and K'art'los, and Kokasos. They ruled [three] countries and called them after their own names: Hayk' [Armenia], K'art'l [Georgia], and Kovkas [Caucasus]. They ruled from the Pontus sea as far as the Caspian sea⁷—down to Mihran and to Arbak his grandson, who took a wife from the Parthians named Sahakdukt from Partav. Being barren she believed in Christ, and he gave her a child Vaxtang, who was also called Gurgasar, which means "wolf-head" in Persian.⁸ For he had over his helmet the image of a wolf at the front, and at the back that of a lion. He took in marriage the daughter of Emperor Leo,⁹ and from him descended the [Georgian] kings down to

T'ewtas whom Abas blinded.¹⁰ After him Bagarat, (92) son of Gurgēn, son of Ašot the Merciful, reigned over the Ap'xazians. This according to the account of Mxit'ar the Priest.¹

51. The kings of Vaspurakan were: from the family of Senek'erim,² Gagik, son of Derenik, who built up Ał'amar.³ Then Derenik his son, afterward his brother Abusahl, and after him Šahanšah his son, and then his brother Gurgēn, and then his brother Senek'erim. The last, oppressed by the Persians,⁴ gave his land to Basil and went to him with his four sons, whose names were: Dawit', Abusahl, Atom, and Kostandin,⁵ and his nephews: Derenik, Gagik, and Ašot. He received in return Sebaste and Larissa and all the environs.⁶ Later Dawit' killed the rebel Phocas and received by deed Xawatanēs.⁷

52. In the year 444 Gagik died, giving the kingdom to his three sons: Yovanēs, Abas, and Ašot.⁸ Yovanēs received the crown, Ani and Širak, [the monastery of] Saint Gregory with the valley of Ašoc', Anberd and the plain of Ayarat, Kayean and Kaycon, and Tawus the province of the Sewordik'. The remainder he divided between Ašot and Abas. When they quarreled after this, Gorgi, king of the Ap'xazians, son of Bagarat, son of Gurgēn,

Vardan omits Nicephorus; "her" and "she" in the next sentence might thus be rendered "his" and "he." M.A., p. 292, places the martyrdoms in the year 249 (A.D. 800).

³The list of emperors follows Samuēl. But he does not refer to Romanus (II) expelling the monks. See Kirakos, p. 84: "who expelled all the Armenian monks and priests who were in Roman territory, because they did not accept the confession of Chalcedon."

⁴He wished . . . breadth. This is from Michael, p. 281, who places the episode of attempting to convert the monks of the Black Mountain to Chalcedon in the reign of Romanus III (1028–34), not Romanus II (959–963). For the eastern campaigns, cf. Asofik, III.8, who refers to the capture of Aleppo at the time that Romanus (II) died.

⁵The order follows Samuēl and Kirakos. But Samuēl gives Basil 51 years. Kiwi-Žan is John Tzimisces.

⁶See above, p. 14; Juanšēr, p. 8.

⁷Cf. Juanšēr, p. 9. But the following account is divergent from the version of Vaxtang's origin in Juanšēr, p. 74, and the Georgian *Chronicle*, I, p. 143 (Brosset, p. 148). These say that Sahakdukt, already a Christian, prayed for a male child, who was born after four years (five in the *Chronicle*). For the helmet see Juanšēr, p. 86; the *Chronicle*, I, p. 180 (Brosset, pp. 177–78).

⁸Gurg, "wolf"; sar, "head."

⁹Vaxtang's second wife was related to Emperor Zeno. "Leo" figures prominently in Juanšēr and the Georgian *Chronicle* as the emperor's general and messenger to Vaxtang.

¹⁰For Vaxtang's descendants see the table in Toumanoff, *Studies*, facing p. 416. Asofik, III.28, says that Teutas was blinded by his own Ap'xazian princes.

¹I.e., Mxit'ar Anec'i. See also pp. 94–97, 137; but he is not named earlier as a possible source for Vardan's information on the origin of Islam, p. 63 above. See also the Introduction. Here he is the source for the previous sentence only, the story of Vaxtang being taken from "their (the Georgians') books." For Bagrat's unification of Georgia, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 497, and Movsesian, "Lori," p. 233.

²I.e., the Assyrian king from whom the Arcrunik' claimed descent; see above, p. 15. For these Arcruni kings see Asofik, III.46.

³See the long description of Ał'amar in the Continuator to T'.A., pp. 292–99.

⁴Oppressed by the Persians: as Aristakēs, p. 34. Cf. also Samuēl, s.a. 1023.

⁵See also Matthew of Edessa, p. 61.

⁶Environs: *piastins*. The same word is used on p. 98, and defined as "villages" on p. 102. Derived from the Greek *proasteion* ("suburb"), it is not uncommon. See H. Ačaryan, *Hayerēn Armatakan Baġaran*, 4 vols. (Erevan, 1971–79), s.v.

⁷Aristakēs, p. 34, describes Dawit's role in the death of Phocas Bardas. Matthew, p. 160, indicates that Xawatanēs was an Arcruni stronghold. According to Smbat, p. 60, it had been given to Gagik of Kars.

⁸Aristakēs, p. 26, indicates that Yovhannēs was also known as Smbat. The Armenian historians before Vardan only refer to Yovhannēs and Ašot; for Abas see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), p. 542. Gagik's death is dated to 470 (A.D. 1021) by Samuēl, but to 420 (971) by Matthew, p. 8.

son of Ašot the Merciful, came and made a settlement between them, then departed.⁹ Since some of the princes were insubordinate, the youngest, Ašot, went to Emperor Basil.¹⁰ Receiving troops from him, he returned and subjected them all, and resided as king of the rest of the land,¹¹ Abas being in Kars.¹²

(93) At that time the *Curopolates* Dawit^c died heirless. He gave by irrevocable deed his patrimony to Basil: Uxt^cik^c and Namruan, Manazkert the city of Apahunik^c, and all his possessions. When Emperor Basil heard this, he came and encamped on the plain of Karin.¹ On being informed about this, Yovanēs became fearful; so he sent Patriarch Petros to him with offerings.² [Petros] had been anointed by lord Sargis during his lifetime with his own hands in Ani,³ with great pomp. But the king of Georgia was pressing hard on Yovanēs, therefore he ordered the patriarch to give by covenant Ani to the Romans after his death, just as the *Curopolates* [had done], if he [Basil] would protect him from his oppressors.⁴ Basil heard this with joy. He summoned Gorgi, the king of Georgia; but he did not heed his summons. Therefore he went in anger, ravaged twelve of his provinces, and returned to the land of Xatik^c, where he spent the winter.⁵ He invited lord Petros to bless with him the water on the feast of the Epiphany of God. And there occurred an amazing miracle: a light shone out from the patriarch's right hand and from the anointing of the holy oil, to the astonishment of the onlookers.⁶ And the Armenian faith was greatly praised.

Basil returned to Constantinople and died in the

year 473.⁷ Constantine held the crown for three years,⁸ then Romanus his son-in-law for five years. At his wife's command he was strangled in the bath,⁹ and they installed Michael for seven years.¹⁰

53. Now as for the line of Caliphs (*amiralamin*) we reached Ĵap^cr and then left off.¹¹ For their rule began in the year 60 and continued with turmoil to the year 350.¹² Here and there their tyranny weakened in power, and the race of Turks grew strong for this reason. There was in Xorasan a Muslim (*Ismayelac^ci*) called Mahmut, who crossing the river Ĵahan to the land of the T^cetals, (94) brought [back] many captives to Xorasan, which means "the East,"¹ where he settled them separately. They increased and multiplied, appointed a certain emir, and then gave him a crown on the death of Mahmut. Being successful, he ruled over Persia and was installed as Sultan; his name was Doġla-bak^c. This according to Vahram, son of Ti-gran the historian.²

But the honorable priest Mxit^car Anec^ci—whose memorial is in the book of life—says as follows:³ "I spent much effort to discover the facts about the Sultans who were Turks. By the grace of God I found out as follows. Mahmut, whom we mentioned, the son of Sebuktegin (*Sbk^cʿan*), waxed mighty from insignificant origins, like Artašir the Sasanian. He removed the dominion of the race of Mahmet from Mahmat Muht^cad, the 33rd [caliph]

Holy Ghost. But he does not date this (*etew erbemn žamanak*, "it happened at some time . . .").

⁷The year 475 is given by Samuēl and implied by Aristakēs, p. 41.

⁸As Samuēl; four years in Aristakēs, p. 40.

⁹See Aristakes, pp. 45–46, for Romanus' death. Aristakēs gives him 7 years of reign. Matthew, p. 73, attributes his death to poison administered by his queen.

¹⁰Seven years: as Aristakēs, p. 50; six years in Samuēl.

¹¹See above, p. 81.

¹²Vardan follows Samuēl in dating the decline of the Muslims to the year 350 of the Armenian era (A.D. 901).

¹The same etymology is found in Vardan's *Geography*, p. 54. It is correct; see H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi, Part II: Glossary* (Wiesbaden, 1974), s.v. *xuar-āsān*, "sun-rise."

²Doġla-bak^c is Tughril. There are parallels here with Michael, pp. 284–87, who describes the origin of the Turks; but Michael was not Vardan's direct source. Vahram is also mentioned by M.A.; he is not the Vahram who wrote a rhymed chronicle of the Rubenid dynasty of Cilicia toward the end of the 13th century. Tigran's history is lost; but for a recently discovered fragment, see A. Kesyeyan, "Novonaidennii otryvok iz neizvestnoi istorii Tigrana Pahlavuni," *Kavkaz i Vizantiia* 5 (1987), 145–55. Kirakos, p. 84, says that (Yovhannēs) Sarkawag wrote about the history of the Turks. This is lost; but Samuēl, s.a. 350, also refers to it.

³For the following extract from Mxit^car, see the translation and commentary in D. Kouymjian, "Mxit^car (Mekhitar) of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs," *REArm* 6 (1969), 331–53; and idem, "Problems of Medieval and Muslim Historiography: The Mxit^car of Ani Fragment," *IJMES* 4 (1973), 465–75.

⁹For the quarrel and settlement, see Aristakēs, p. 27; Matthew, pp. 8–11.

¹⁰Aristakēs, p. 28.

¹¹*Rest of the land: druc^c ašxarhin*, as in Matthew, p. 11. *Druc^c* seems to be an unusual genitive plural form of *dur* or *duin* ("gate, door"); cf. *i durs*, "outside." The meaning here is clear from Matthew: Yovhannēs was to be king in Ani, but Ašot was to be king of all (the rest of) Armenia, *tagawor amenayn tann Hayoc^c*.

¹²This Abas is not Gagik's son, but the son of Mušeġ; he reigned in Kars 984–1029. See Matthew, p. 11.

¹For the death of Dawit^c, *Curopolates* of Tayk^c, and the ensuing campaign of Basil, see Asofik, III.43; Aristakēs, pp. 22–24; Matthew, p. 46. But this occurred in the year 1000. Vardan has run together two campaigns of Basil's. See also the next note.

²Aristakēs, p. 31, in the year 470 (A.D. 1021–22).

³Aristakēs, p. 28.

⁴For this statement see Aristakēs, p. 32.

⁵Aristakēs puts this campaign *before* the signing of the testament, pp. 28–31.

⁶For this miracle see Aristakēs, p. 32. Kirakos, pp. 94–95, gives a more elaborate rendering with additional details—including the turning back of the river, hence Petros' soubriquet *getadarj*—and the release of a dove to fake the descent of the

from Mahmet, in the year 246 of their empire. He reigned in the city of Bahl in the land of the K'ušans. And a formidable report about him circulated until the caliph, in fright, sent him gifts, and *alam*, and *latap*, [and the title] *Amin-adl*, and called him Sultan. On receiving this honor, he grew even more mighty. He went out to India at the report of the idol of Mat'an which he destroyed. Taking plunder, he returned, leaving his own son Mahmat there while he went to Gurgan. He took from the lord of Gurgan 400,000 *dahekans* and a store of armor in 420 of their era.⁴

He crossed over to Reyy. And the lord of Reyy, Majd ad'Daula Rustam, (95) who three days before had captured the Daylamites, sent to oppose him. He came to Srav with a vast force, including 250 elephants. On seeing him, he said: "Have you read the Šah-name?"¹ He replied: "Yes." Again he said: "Have you played chess?" "Yes." Then he said: "Does a king enter a king's house [square] or not?" He was silent. Immediately he bound him, sent him to Xorasan, and seizing all his possessions ruled over Reyy. He went to Tabaristan, Ta'abi, and Sari. To his son Mas'ud (*Maskut*) he gave Reyy, Łazuin, and all K'ohastan. Leaving him in Reyy he went to Srav and took 100,000 dinars; then he crossed into Nišapur in 421 of their era. Now Mas'ud took Hamadan and Aspahan, then returned to Reyy. Immediately he was informed: "They have killed your governor in Aspahan." So he went back, slaughtered 4,000 men, and returned to Reyy.

At that moment they brought him the sad news of his father's death, and that: "Your brother Mahmat has become sultan." Rising up, he marched off, arrested his brother and blinded him, then took his empire and throne. His father had come to help his clan whose chief was called Qadir-xan Boghra-xan (*Xtrān-Potrān*). On the road he met the encampment of a host of Turks; and when he returned by the same road, in a great victory he captured their emir Yabghu [*Ap'ahu*], whom he brought to Xorasan and imprisoned. His clan came to request [him] from (96) the father and then from the son, but they did not give him up. Then in anger they crossed the Ĵahan with all their

armies, fought to the death, won the victory, and captured Nišapur. They slaughtered the sultan's army at Dadanān near Merv (*Mrmn*); the sultan fled to Ghazna¹ and then to India. On the way the sultan was killed. They made his blind brother king in Ghazna, where he stayed and begat two sons. One after the other they held Ghazna until today.

Now the most preeminent of the Turks, whose name was Musa Yabghu, son of Seljuk (*Sarč'uk'eay*), had five nephews. Their names were: Abusalim, Dawut', Č'atrbek, Abutalip', Toṭril-bek, who held the authority of the sultanate. For fifteen years he expanded his territory, and divided up the whole land of Xorasan. Coming to Reyy, he found two treasure houses full of gold. Taking control of them, he sent to the caliph requesting his blessing. The latter honored him with noble men, gave him *alam* and gifts, and had his name read from the pulpit (*mimbar*). He bestowed on him the soubriquet of Ruk'nadovla; and from that day he was proclaimed "ruler of the world." He was succeeded by Arp'aslan, the nephew of Tuṭril, who filled the whole world with blood.

He had eight sons. Of these [first] came to the royal throne Mēlik'-šah, a good and peaceful man; then Mahmut sultan. (97) After him his eldest brother Bak'iarux, who slew him and held the throne for five years. There arose against him Dudaš, son of Alp'aslan, whom Bak'iarux defeated, destroying his army and slaying Dudaš. The sultan Mahmut, son of Mahmud, at a young age slew Bak'iarux, and held the sultanate for thirteen years, followed by his son Mahmud. Against the latter the sultan Sanĵar waged war and slew him; he seized the principality of Araĵ and installed it in Baraĵ[?]. After him Dawut' his son was sultan, whom the Mlhetk'¹ slew. Then came Toṭril, followed by Masxut, then his son Aslan, then the powerful Tuṭril, who remained [sultan] until [the time of] this historian—to whom honor from the Lord God.

54. The same man [Mxit'ar Anec'i] says concerning King Yovanēs that his brother Ašot, at the foot of T'alín, feigned to be mortally ill; he summoned the king to him, laying a trap through his sickbed. Thus he seized him and gave him over to the great prince called Apirat to be killed. But the

⁴420 A.H. is A.D. 1029. The earlier date of 246 is quite wrong.

¹*Šahnamaz kardac'eal es*. The editor of the Venice edition places a comma after *Šah*. Since *namaz kardan* in Persian means "to say one's prayers," perhaps one could interpret the Armenian as: "Shah, have you said your prayers?" But that the *Šahname* is intended is clear from the Muslim version quoted in Kouymjian, *IJMES*, p. 470. (Firdausi had dedicated his *Šahname* to Mahmud.)

¹Ghazna: Łazin, Łazuin just below: not Qazvin, as in T'A., p. 210.

¹Mlhetk'. See below, p. 149 note 4.

latter happily recieved him, and took him to Ani placing him back on his own throne, saying: "Why should I lay my hands on the Lord's anointed, and set a lunatic in his place?" Of him they say that from insignificant [origins] he grew mighty until, because he was clever and liberally handed, he became lord of 12,000 cavalry. He built the holy monastery of Keč'aruk^c, just as prince Vahram [built] Marmašēn.²

(98) In 470 Tuḡril-beg marched forth;¹ at Naxčavan Liparit met him with 5,000 cavalry, and he fled from the fearsome host. When the Turk arrived at Dvin and sent out raiders, the valiant Vasak came to oppose them. After demonstrating great valor he returned to Serkewli. But while he was catching a little sleep there, someone unknownst hit his head with a stone, so he died.²

About that time Patriarch Petros, with some grudge against King Yovanēs, went to Vaspurakan. Despite entreaties he did not return. Then through the duke of those regions he was brought by force and imprisoned at Bĭjni. When lord Yovsēp^c, Catholicos of the Aḡuank^c, heard of this, he came and released him from prison and reestablished him on his own throne, removing Dioskoros the abbot of the holy monastery of Sanahin, who had been made Catholicos in Petros' place for one year. The latter returned to his monastery, a holy and virtuous man.³

At that time Gēorg, king of Georgia, was succeeded by his son Bagarat.⁴ The Georgian prince Liparit rebelled and made him flee deep into Ap'xazia. He himself ruled the country in a prosperous and wise manner, giving aid to Emperor Michael. At his death he gave the crown to Kalap'at, the son of his sister; a few days later he was blinded at the command of Empress Zoe, Michael's wife. At that spot appeared a stone having an inscription: "Here a king was blinded."⁵ Zoe took

Monomachos as her husband and placed the crown on him.

55. Lord Petros went to him, and returned to Sebaste.⁶ The sons of Senek'erim gave him the monastery which they had built and dedicated to the holy Cross of Varag.⁷ For they had the cross with them, although later they returned it there [to Varag].⁸ Monomachos gave the patriarch three villages.⁹ (99) He lived at that spot for a year and died. Then Xač'ik, his nephew, took the veil. [Petros] had ordained him during his lifetime in Ani;¹ he lived for two years and died. Then the throne remained vacant for five years.²

In 493 Yovannēs and Ašot died; the crown passed to Gagik, Ašot's son.³ Then the Greeks remembered the covenant of perdition concerning Ani; for they said it was irrevocable and that the covenant remained valid after [Yovannēs'] death.⁴ So they summoned Gagik to Constantinople with an oath, as if they would send him back with presents.⁵ But they installed a *katapan* in the city and stripped it of its double crown—of the ranks of patriarch and of king, bringing them both to their own territory against their will and not restoring them. Therefore Gagik, in despair, accepted in exchange Kalōnpaḡat and Pizu, and lived in exile among those who hated our nation.⁶

At this time Grigor, the son of the valiant Vasak, gave Bĭjni to Monomachos, as well as Kayean and Kaycon which were under his control. He received the dukedom (*dk'suḡ'wn*) of Mesopotamia.⁷ He

⁶ For Petros' visit to Constantinople and return, see Matthew, pp. 122–25; Smbat, pp. 45–46. Aristakēs, p. 82, gives a briefer account.

⁷ Aristakēs, p. 82. Matthew, p. 152, and Smbat, p. 54, indicate that he was buried there.

⁸ For the history of Varag and the Cross, see H. Oskean, *Vaspurakan-Vani Vank'erē*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1942–47), I, pp. 268–339.

⁹ *Villages: prastins*. See above, p. 92 note 6.

¹ As Aristakēs, p. 82; Matthew, p. 152.

² Samuēl Anec'i gives Xač'ik II seven years (507–513 of the Armenian era). But Matthew, p. 183, gives him six; while Kirakos, p. 95, says "a short time."

³ Samuēl, Matthew, p. 97, and Smbat, p. 36, put the succession of Gagik in 490. Matthew, p. 91, had said that Ašot died in 489.

⁴ Aristakēs, p. 57, says that the letter was "found," rather than "remembered."

⁵ Samuēl comments here on the Greek propensity for treachery. Cf. Matthew, p. 110, for the oaths signed with the Blood of Christ.

⁶ See Matthew, p. 111, for Kalōnpaḡat and Pizu. He refers to the Greek commander sent to Ani as a *parakamanos* (*parakoimōmenos*). For the *katapan* see Berbérian, *Aristakes*, p. 121 note 2.

⁷ See Aristakēs, p. 62, for Gregory Magistros relinquishing Bĭjni and all his patrimony for the title of *magistros* (*duk's* in Vardan).

² For Vahram and Marmašēn see Kirakos, p. 88.

¹ Matthew, pp. 13–17, followed by Smbat, pp. 7–8, has misplaced this episode; he puts it much earlier, around 420 (A.D. 971).

² Unlike Matthew and Smbat, M.A., p. 298, places Vasak's death between 493 and 500.

³ For this schism see Matthew, pp. 87–90. He is not so polite about Dioscorus. Smbat, pp. 31–33, follows Matthew. Neither names Bĭjni as the site of Petros' imprisonment. Samuēl, *s.a.* 479, and Kirakos, p. 90, offer brief resumé.

⁴ Matthew, p. 62; Smbat, p. 27.

⁵ For the murder of Kalap'at (Michael V Kalapates, in 1042) and the appearance of the inscription, see Michael, p. 283. There is a briefer account in M.A., p. 297.

took with him Apirat, the prince of Georgia, and two other *magistroi*. Then he attacked Brehim the general of the sultan Tuḡril-beg. Liparit was captured and led to the sultan, who sent word to him to renounce his faith.⁸ He replied: "When I see your face I shall do what you command." When he did see him, he said: "Now that I have had the honor to see you, I shall not do your will and I shall not fear death." The sultan said: "What do you desire?" He replied: "If you are a merchant, sell me; if an executioner, kill me. But if you are a king, free me with gifts." The sultan said: "I do not wish to be the merchant of your price, or the executioner of your blood. But I am a king; go where you wish." So he released him with gifts. And since the emperor was seeking him, (100) he went to him. Receiving an army from him, he came to Georgia, seized King Bagrat, and sent him to the emperor. Then he himself governed the whole land.¹

56. In those same days a woman named Mam came from Persia with three sons to the province of P'arisos, to the glorious prince Grigor.² The sons gave their mother as hostage and received Šawtk' and the castle of Šamiram. From there they attacked Xlaziz the emir of Ganjak, whom they killed. They took Ganjak and ruled [there]. The eldest son Parzuan died shortly thereafter, and the next brother Lēšk'ari became ruler; he captured Partav and Šamk'or from Salar. But his younger brother, who was called P'atlun, killed him while hunting and seized power. To him came P'ilipē, son of Grigor, on the pretext of friendship; but he imprisoned him after the death of his father, and took from him Šašuał and Šawtk'. Summoning Gagik, son of Hamam, the lord of Tanjik', he killed him and took his land. In this way he grew in strength and ruled over Xač'en and Goroz and the Sewordik'. He attacked Gagik king of Joroyget, Ki-wrikē king of Aḡuank', and Bagarat king of Georgia, and harassed them. (101) He also ruled over Dvin and imposed on Armenia a tribute of 300,000 *dram*.¹

⁸For the capture of Liparit and his service for Tuḡril, see Matthew, pp. 125–27; Smbat, p. 47; and briefly in Aristakēs, p. 82.

¹See the brief account in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, p. 622. But these events are not described by other Armenian historians. For Liparit's quarrels with King Bagarat (IV), see Ĵuanšēr, p. 112, and the long account in the *Georgian Chronicle*, I, pp. 298–306 (Brosset, pp. 318–326).

²For the following account of the Shaddadids, see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 37 ff. (Vardan's immediate source is unknown.)

¹See Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 41.

In similar fashion some Chaldaean men,² leaving their own country, came to Gardman and said to the prince of Gardman: "Give us part of the cross which Heraclius gave you, and we shall be Christians and your servants." This indeed occurred. When the emir of Baghdad heard of it, he made threats. Frightened of him, they went to the foot of the Caucasus; and given success by Christ in whom they had believed, they ruled over all those provinces. Eventually one of them, Dawit' by name, who was related to the ruler of Joroyget, became a king. They called the province Canark', since there they "recognized" the site of their habitation.³ The prince of Gardman called them *chorepiskopos* in the Georgian language.⁴

57. After the removal of the Armenian kings from Ani, Alp'aslan, the cousin of Tuḡril, entered Armenia and ravaged twenty-four provinces. For he was the general of the sultan, who after the latter's death became sultan himself. He came once more with 100,000 [troops] and captured Nor K'alak', which the Georgians call Axal-k'alak',⁵ and Samšoyldē.⁶ He took to wife the daughter of King Kiwrikē, and the daughter of the sister of Bagarat, king of Georgia. He captured Ani, slaughtered a thousand men in a ditch, and bathed in the blood, making it an offering for his own dead.⁷

Then a messenger came from the caliph; putting a gold ring on his neck and binding twelve rods together, (102) he struck him, making him sting, as if he should be that much subservient to his leader.¹ This occurred twenty-three years after the death of King Yovannēs, in 513.²

²*Some Chaldaean men: ark' omank' k'aldeac'ik'*. This origin for the Canars is not attested earlier in Armenian sources. T'.A., III.10, for example, implies that they were indigenous. For these people see Laurent/Canard, pp. 47–48, with copious references to original and secondary sources.

³For David see Movsesian, "Lori," p. 255 note 1. Vardan relates Canar to the aorist stem *can-* of the verb "to know, recognize."

⁴For this title see the notes to Laurent/Canard, as note 2 above. T'.A., III.10, calls their leader Apu Musē "son of a priest."

⁵Both names mean "new city."

⁶Y.D., p. 295, offers the etymology "three arrows." In Georgian *sami* means "three," but *mšvilde* means "bow."

⁷For the fall of Axalk'alak'i and Ani, see Matthew, pp. 175–82. Aristakēs, pp. 135–36, describes the slaughter. But for Alp Arslan's bathing in the blood of 1,000 men, see Michael, p. 292. He also refers there to the capture of Samšoyldē, not mentioned by Aristakēs or Matthew. For the sultan's marriage see Matthew, p. 174.

¹For this ceremony involving a gold chain and beating twelve times with a rod, cf. Michael, p. 302, referring to Melik Ghazi. (The Armenian text of 1871, p. 414, omits "twelve times," merely referring to a "rod of gold with which they strike him as a sign of rule.")

²513: A.D. 1064, as in Matthew, pp. 173 ff.

Now after Monomachos, Kir T^eodor held the crown, then Ducas, followed by Diogenes. This last attacked the sultan, threatening to make the Armenians completely Grecised. Thus, on arriving in Kars, he burned the wooden Armenian church.³ He marched to Manazkert and captured it; but the sultan turned back on him, and defeated him so severely that he was captured by him. Although he mercifully released him, yet he was not received by his own nation. But they gave the crown to Michael, son of Ducas, who arrested Diogenes and blinded him. He died from the pain in 521.⁴

58. Now the king of Kars, Gagik son of Abas, distraught by fear of the Turks, gave his patrimony to the Greeks.⁵ [In return] he received Camandav, Laria, Amasya, Komana, and a hundred suburbs (*prastin*), which are villages.⁶ Going to the emperor, he requested that he order Vahram, son of Grigor the *Magistros* and *Dux*, to be ordained patriarch of Armenia. At his ordination he was named Grigor.⁷ After holding the throne for one year in Camandav, he abandoned it to Gēorg of Lori, his *vardapet*.⁸ He himself went to Constantinople in order to translate. Taking his books, he wished to go to Jerusalem. The ship took him to Egypt; and he was greatly honored by the sultan. He built a monastery for the Armenians, and ordained his nephew Grigor as bishop.⁹ He himself went and died in Karmir-vank^c, (103) in the region of the Euphrates river by the Taurus mountain,

near to lord Barseṭ the patriarch who followed Gēorg.¹

In 521 [the church of] Saint Peter burned in Antioch. And there was an earthquake: the earth opened and swallowed the Greek patriarch and 10,000 people with him, because they had burned the gospel of the orthodox Syrians—which four times escaped from the fire unscathed, but on the fifth it suffered their rage, like the Lord [endured] the cross by the Jews.²

59. In 543³ P^catlun, emir of Ganjak, sent Vasak Pahlavuni, son of Grigor Magistros, with all the troops of Aran to the impregnable fortresses of Bałk^c and Kapan. By a treacherous ruse they entered there and killed Senek^cerim the Armenian king; for the kings there were Armenians.⁴ And [the line] was not brought to an end until the last days of the two noble brothers, Smbat and Grigor, who took the young Senek^cerim of Armenian descent and made him their heir as king. When he was killed on P^catlun's orders, the lamp there was extinguished, and the Persians ruled.

This P^catlun received Ani from Alp^caslan, on giving him gold-covered images of Całkoc^c.⁵ And he sent as lord of the ruined city Manuč^cē his grandson, a very young man, who when he grew up added to the wall of Ani and its fortifications.

³Vardan is following Michael's version here, p. 292. Matthew, pp. 237–38, refers to Diogenes ordering the sack of Sebaste.

⁴The defeat, capture, blinding, and death of Diogenes are described by Michael, p. 292 (but he gives no date); Samuēl, *s.a.* 521 (to whose account Vardan is close); Matthew, pp. 237–44 (followed by Smbat, pp. 74–77). Aristakēs ends his *history* with these events, pp. 139–41.

⁵This occurred before the defeat of Diogenes in 1071; see Matthew, p. 181 (*s.a.* 513 [A.D. 1064]). Matthew refers only to Cmandav as a gift from the emperor Ducas. In his version Smbat, p. 60, adds Caesarea and Xawatanēk^c (for which see above, p. 92).

⁶Suburbs, villages: *prastins* (for which see above, p. 92), *geaw-lean*. The collective ending *-ean* is also attested for *gwił* in P^cawstos, V.4. For a discussion of its use in medieval Armenian, see J. Karst, *Historische Grammatik des kilikisch-armenischen* (Strassburg, 1901), §251. Another example occurs six lines below: *grean* for "books."

⁷Matthew, pp. 185–86, does not mention the emperor, but refers merely to Vahram's appointment by Gagik.

⁸Matthew, p. 229, implies that Grigor Vkayasēr gave up his duties in 1069, four years after his consecration in 1065. Smbat, p. 70, refers to this under the rubric of 516 (A.D. 1067); whereas Samuēl places Grigor's departure to Constantinople in 523 (A.D. 1074).

⁹Grigor's travels are described differently by Matthew and Kirakos. The former, pp. 253–54, followed by Smbat, p. 82, says that he went to Constantinople in 1074, then to Rome, then to Egypt where he was greatly honored. There he ordained his

nephew, and then he returned to Armenia. Matthew, p. 326 (again followed by Smbat, p. 110), refers to Grigor being in Jerusalem when that city was captured by the Crusaders. However, Kirakos, pp. 95–96, says that Grigor went to Rome, where he was honored by the nation of the Franks. On leaving there for Constantinople he was blown to Egypt. There the sultan received him, and he eventually died. Kirakos does not refer to Grigor going to Jerusalem. These sources do not mention a monastery; but Matthew and Smbat indicate that there were some 30,000 Armenians in Egypt.

¹Matthew, p. 372, indicates that Gregory was buried at Karmir-vank^c (as also Smbat, p. 126). But the Basil who followed Gēorg (i.e., Gēorg of Lori, who died in 1072) died in 1113 and was buried at Suhr; see Matthew, pp. 411–12, Smbat, p. 142. At Karmir-vank^c was also buried prince Goł-Vasil; Matthew, p. 404, Smbat, p. 139.

²See Matthew, pp. 135–40, followed by Smbat, pp. 50–51. But they both date the episode to 502 (A.D. 1053).

³But on p. 104 below Vardan declares that Vasak, son of Grigor and brother of Vahram, was killed in 525. Step^canos Orbelean dates the death of Senek^cerim after the death of Mēlik^c-šah (in 1092), ch. 59. If 543 (A.D. 1094) is correct, this episode is misplaced. In any event, this Vasak played no role in the death of Senek^cerim of Siunik^c. See the discussion in Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 72–74.

⁴*Armenian, Armenians*: lit. "of the race of Hayk," "descended from Hayk." For the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians, see above, pp. 13–14.

⁵*Gold-covered images of Całkoc^c*: *oskiakur nkars całkoc^ci*. *Całkoc^c* could mean "garden"; but since it is the name of a valley near Ani (see Hübschmann, *Orstnamen*, p. 436), Vardan seems to have in mind golden icons with which Fadlun paid Alp Arslan.

He brought into the city all the surviving princes: for example, with great pomp he met and escorted inside Grigor, son of Vasak, grandson of Apirat. (104) They say the wives of the nobles had five hundred splendid crowns on their heads. For he was lord of a great army and of many nobles. He was the brother of lord Basil, who after Gēorg was ordained Catholicos in Hałbat, at the command and desire of Manuč'ē and all the Armenians. And the city of Ani was no less prosperous than before.¹

Now Alp'aslan, going to Alamud, besieged a strong castle. The lord of the castle made a great merriment in his house followed by great mourning. Then he went down to the sultan as if in subjection; kissing his feet, he slew the wild beast that drank innocent blood, and the wicked one was removed.² Mēlik-šah his son received the title, a merciful and kindly man, especially to our nation;³ he even received the patriarch Barseł in his presence with an elevated cross. He honored him with gifts and with a written diploma,⁴ whereby he was entitled to receive the rod of office and the title from the man of Honi, who had personally borne the role of Catholicos contrary to the canons.⁵

60. In 525 the Romans killed prince Vasak, brother of the Catholicos Vahram, who was duke of Antioch, by deceit in that very city. His troops fortified themselves in the keep (*klay*), and gave the city to Philaretos, an Armenian by race, who at that time controlled many provinces. Taking the city, he avenged his blood.⁶ This Philaretos had Sargis—a holy and modest man—nephew of the Catholicos lord Petros, ordained in Mesopotamia while Vahram and Gēorg were still alive.⁷ He was exiled by lord Vahram and lord Barseł, who was in the East

and who had been ordained in Hałbat by lord Step'anos, Catholicos of Ałuank', and King Ki-wrikē.⁸ (105) In his days the two Catholicoi of the holy monastery of Hałbat ordained Sargis, archpriest of the royal court, as archbishop,¹ giving suffrage (*vičak*) from both sides. But after the death of the Catholicos lord Sargis, Philaretos had a certain T'eodoros ordained in his place.²

In those same days Bexd, prince of Širakuni, was killed; because of his great virtue he was constrained in friendship by the emperor and became a Roman [Greek orthodox]. As father confessor he was given a Roman monk. But since he did not observe the Roman rites, the wicked monk suffocated him, finding him sleeping and alone in his own castle in Andrión. When his troops heard of this, they cast the impious brute over a cliff.³ Then Vtaniot succeeded Emperor Michael for one year, followed by Meselianos for six months, then Alexios—an excellent and intelligent man.⁴

In his days there was a fearsome miracle at the monastery of Pizu which King Gagik had built. Two hermits, having had a vision, entered the monastery and repeated what they had seen before [the singing of the hymn] *harc'*. One said: "I saw the lantern of the dome of the church fall to the floor of the church, but its light was not extinguished." The other said: "I saw a star fall from heaven, and its light shone even more brightly in this church." The abbot of the monastery said: "You saw that [a part] of the holy mystery fell." Lighting a candle, they went and discovered a piece of the holy mystery that had fallen onto the chancel during the holy Pentecost, unnoticed. Three days later it was discovered on the holy Pentecost; for those three days it had been disturbed neither by broom nor by foot. And they thanked God.⁵

Now the lord of Ani, Gagik, who went to Constantinople, was greatly importuned by Zoe, Theo-

¹For the consecration of Basil by Grigor V kayasēr, see Matthew, p. 253, followed by Smbat, p. 82. They do not mention the role of Manuč'ē. For the recovery of Ani's prosperity under Manuč'ē, see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 81–82; H. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. by N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1965), p. 180.

²Matthew, pp. 244–46, followed by Smbat, pp. 77–78, describes the death of Alp Arslan at a castle named Hamay.

³Matthew, p. 247.

⁴Matthew, pp. 289–91, followed by Smbat, p. 95, describes the relations between Mēlik-šah and Basil. But he does not refer to a cross, merely alleviation from taxes and an edict (*hrovartak*; *gir* in Smbat). For the "written diploma" (*tutray groy*), see *EI*, s.v. Tughra. This Turkish expression is not attested in Armenian before Vardan.

⁵This was T'eodoros; cf. below, p. 107. For the rod of office (*gawazan*), see Matthew, p. 291.

⁶See Matthew, pp. 256–57, abbreviated by Smbat, p. 84. Michael, pp. 293–94, gives a long account of the rise of Philaretos, which is at variance with Matthew.

⁷Matthew, p. 253; Smbat, p. 82.

⁸Matthew, p. 266; Smbat, p. 88. See also Movsessean, "Lori," p. 243.

¹Kirakos, p. 98.

²Not the Sargis of the previous sentence, who was followed by Gēorg; but see p. 104 note 7. For T'eodoros see Matthew, p. 259. Smbat, p. 85, calls him T'oros, as Matthew, p. 305.

³See Matthew, pp. 257–58; Smbat, p. 84. They indicate that Bexd—i.e., *Vestes*, duke of Antioch—was smothered with a pillow.

⁴Matthew, pp. 258, 261, and Smbat, p. 85, who also praise Alexius.

⁵Matthew places this episode earlier, before 1066; see pp. 221–22. (He adds that many believed in the "orthodox" faith.) The version in Smbat, p. 67, is somewhat abbreviated. For the hymn *harc'*, cf. above, p. 69.

dore's sister, to become a Roman, marry her, and rule over the Greeks.⁶ (106) But he did not agree. He made his younger son son-in-law to Apl̄arib, son of Xač'ik, one of the princes of Vaspurakan, who controlled Missis, Adana, Papaṛon, and Lambron.¹ But he hated him and put him in prison. When his father heard of this, he went to extricate him; but on his return to his lodging, the Romans strangled him.² So the foul Apl̄arib killed his son-in-law with poison. Now the elder son Yohanēs became son-in-law of the Roman duke of Ani in the expectation of some [benefit].³ He came to Ani, but finding no tranquillity, he went to Georgia. Then he returned to Constantinople with a young boy called Ašot, whom the emperor requested for son-in-law; but he did not wish to give him over. The latter went to the sultan on the emperor's orders; and he gave him Ani. A certain eunuch related to Manuč'ē killed him with poison, and his body was brought to Constantinople. But before the dead son arrived, the father died, and the kings of Ani came to an end in this fashion.

61. In 537, at the command of Mēlik'šah, the emir Puzan took Ganjak from the [people] of P'at'lun who are called Shaddadids.⁴ Now the king of Georgia, Bagarat, returning from the emperor, took his patrimony; and after him his son Gēorg held it. The latter⁵ went in the company of Kiwrikē to Xorasan to Mēlik'šah; they returned in honor. This Kiwrikē was the son of Dawit', son of Gurgēn, son of Ašot the Merciful. For him his father Dawit' had built Lori and another twelve castles; the latter is buried at Sanahin. Their grandsons Abas and Dawit', oppressed by the Georgians, went to the lord of Āran and each received a castle; but they lived in misery.⁶ The sultan Mēlik'šah, of peaceful

and Christian-loving character, ruled over twelve kingdoms from the Caspian sea as far as the Pontus sea. He fetched sand from the Ocean, brought it to Persia, and cast it over the tomb of his father, saying: "Behold father, news for you. For your son, whom you left a youth, (107) rules to the ends of the earth."¹ To him went Philaretos, and weakened in the faith.² And Puzan, the great emir, at the sultan's command took Ur̄ha; he killed noble men from among the glorious princes of Armenia at the treachery of spiteful men.³

In those same days the king of the Pečenegs came with 600,000 to Constantinople to attack Alexius. Having prayed for eight days, the Christians exterminated them totally by throwing fire into their wagons with which they had come.⁴

In the same days there appeared the evil of a Roman monk who worshipped a dog. He led astray about 10,000 men and the mother of Alexius. She even put a piece of the holy wooden cross of the Lord secretly in her son's shoe, so that he continually trampled it with the sole of his foot. When Alexius heard of this, he destroyed them all and removed his mother from her position as queen.⁵

62. In 540 died P'ōlos, the Catholicos in Maraš who had been appointed by Philaretos.⁶ The holy and great scholar Gēorg, *vardapet* of Armenia, also [died] and was buried in Kamr̄ajor beside the *vardapet* Samuēl.⁷ So the holy throne of the patriarchate was [now] held by a single individual; for lord Barseł at the same time deposed the Catholicos T'eodoros from his throne, and took from him the veil and rod and holy seal of lord Petros. Traveling to Caesarea, he went on to Antioch, and thence to Ur̄ha; and there was great joy everywhere.⁸

But the peace-loving sultan was poisoned by his wife, and so completed his life in 541.⁹ When the emir Puzan, who was in Nicaea, heard of this, he returned to Ur̄ha, and lord Barseł went to Ani. (108) Mēlik'šah was buried in Marand beside his

⁶Gagik's visit to Constantinople is described by Matthew just before the preceding miracle, pp. 194–216; but he places it in the reign of Ducas (1059–67), not of Theodore (1054–56), and makes no reference to Zoe. Kirakos, p. 104, has a brief reference to Gagik's visit to Constantinople.

¹Matthew, p. 263, says that the marriage did not come off; he indicates that Abulgharib was the son of Hasan, son of Xač'ik.

²For the death of Gagik see Matthew, pp. 264–65; Smbat, p. 87; Samuēl, *s.a.* 525.

³Matthew, p. 265, followed by Smbat, pp. 87–88, indicates that Yovhannēs survived (*mnac'*), but gives no further details of his career.

⁴Matthew, p. 286; Smbat, p. 94. Smbat says that the sultan Mēlik'šah took Ganjak; but Matthew says "the sultan," and a later reference makes it clear that Puzan is meant.

⁵The Latter: Gēorg, king 1072–89.

⁶For details of the kings of Lori, see the collected evidence in Movsesian, who notes that for the visit to Mēlik'šah Vardan is following Samuēl; see p. 118 of the Armenian text (not available to me). For Abas and Dawit' see also Kirakos, p. 152.

¹Mēlik'šah . . . earth: from Matthew pp. 282–84.

²Matthew, pp. 281–82; Smbat, p. 93.

³Matthew, pp. 284–85; Smbat, p. 94.

⁴Matthew, pp. 286–88; Smbat, pp. 94–95.

⁵Matthew, pp. 288–89; Smbat, p. 95.

⁶Matthew, p. 295, places the death of Paul in 542 (A.D. 1093).

⁷Matthew, p. 296.

⁸Matthew dates the deposition of T'eodoros to the turn of the year 539–540; the year 540 began on 27 February A.D. 1091. Cf. also above, p. 104.

⁹Matthew p. 293. Smbat, p. 96, does not refer to prison. Samuēl, *s.a.* 541, indicates that poisoning by his wife was a "report."

father Arp^ʿaslan.¹ He had two sons called Bekiarux and Sap^ʿan.² Duduš, the brother of Mēlik^ʿ-šah, became sultan in Greek territory [Anatolia],³ while Bekiarux [was sultan] over Persia and Armenia. He made his uncle Ismayil chamberlain (*hejūb*), a man very kind and friendly toward the Armenians; therefore he took care of our nation, and the land prospered. He freed [from taxation] monasteries and all clergy.⁴

Duduš ruled over Mesopotamia, and subjected the king of the Arabs, Ibrahim; taking all their camps, he grew rich. A letter came to him from the wife of Bekiarux summoning him to Persia to become her husband and seize all the country for himself. He rejoiced at the news, marched [there] with innumerable troops, and reached the plain of Ispahan. Bekiarux sent his entreaties, that [if] he gave him Ispahan, all the rest of the country would be his. But he did not agree, so they attacked each other. Duduš was killed. His son Eratuan fled to Urha, and became sultan in Aleppo and its territory.⁵ Another of his family, called Alp^ʿirak, became sultan in Greek territory, and coming to Urha tried to rule over it. But T^ʿoros the *Curopolates* killed him by poison after thirty days.⁶

That same year the Catholicos T^ʿeodoros in Honi died, filled with all virtue; and he was buried near to lord Sargis.⁷

63. At that time there was a severe famine caused by locusts and drought. In Ani there was particularly great tribulation, so that they were unable to bury the dead from the famine or communicate in the eucharist. They say that one man, showing valor and love for God, buried six thousand persons; his name was Bex.⁸ When a certain rich man in Persia heard of such distress, (109) he loaded a herd of camels with wheat and went to

Ani, saying: "I shall give to no one else save children." Hearing this, they brought many [children] with copious tears, and he fed and nourished them. When the wheat was exhausted, he called the parents of the children to come and kiss their sons and daughters. They embraced with tears and emotion. Then the man said in sweet and kind tones: "Take your children and go to your houses, praising God the giver of blessings in his bounty." Which indeed they did.

After the famine had passed, a Scythian tribe whose leader was called Elxazi, which in earlier times had lived concealed among the Vrkanians, came 7,000 strong through the middle of the country as far as the city of Ani with hostile intent. There his brother, who resembled the giant Goliath, was killed by Grigor, son of Vasak, the grandson of Apirat, who in later days was martyred in Katzuan on rescuing from death Manuč^ʿē, the emir of Ani. He [Grigor] was taken and buried in Keč^ʿaruk^ʿ; and the brother of lord Barsel the Catholicos, and Manuč^ʿē, and all the troops of the Armenian army escorted the corpse.¹ But Elxazi went to Mesopotamia, and captured Jerusalem from the Franks (*P^ʿrang*), shooting an arrow into the ceiling of the [church of the] Resurrection, which remains there until now as a sign of his deed.²

In 544 Suk^ʿman, son of Ardux, and the emir of Samosata Paltux, son of Amir-Łaze, attacked Urha. They returned full of shame, because the *Curopolates* T^ʿeodoros wisely and bravely defended the city, so that not even the sultan Ratuan was able to subdue it.³ Again in 547 Łlič Aslan, (110) sultan of the west, grandson of Ddlmuš, attacked Melitene. The prince of the city Łavril, father-in-law of the *Curopolates* of Urha, repulsed him with dishonor.¹

64. At that time was fulfilled the prophetic saying of the holy patriarch Nersēs concerning the coming forth of the Franks.² For while the Scythians were ruling over Jerusalem and levying fees on those who visited the holy tomb, a certain count, Frank by race, happened to be pushed in the

¹ Matthew, p. 294.

² Sap^ʿan: Sap^ʿar in Matthew, p. 294; Tap^ʿar in Smbat, p. 97.

³ Matthew and Smbat do not here refer to the lands controlled by Duduš.

⁴ Matthew, p. 295, refers to Ismayil as friendly to the Armenians and causing prosperity; but he does not use the Arabic title "chamberlain," *hejūb*, for which see H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik, Erster Teil: Armenische Etymologie* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 269. Smbat, p. 97, does not refer to Ismayil, attributing the prosperity of Armenia directly to Bekiarux.

⁵ This paragraph is based on Matthew, pp. 296–302; abbreviated in Smbat, pp. 98–99.

⁶ Matthew, p. 305.

⁷ Matthew, p. 305, calls the Catholicos T^ʿoros; cf. p. 105 note 2 above.

⁸ This story of famine in Ani, the work of Bex, and the philanthropy of the rich Persian is not attested elsewhere. (It may be from one of the lost sources for the history of Ani, Mxit^ʿar Anec^ʿi or Sarkawag.)

¹ For the death of Grigor and the battle of Katzuan, see Matthew, p. 328.

² See also M.A., p. 304. Vardan had visited Jerusalem himself, as had his colleague Yovhannēs Tuec^ʿi, pp. 154 ff below.

³ Matthew, p. 303; Smbat, p. 99. But they call the *Curopolates* T^ʿoros, as p. 108 above. Michael, p. 295, says that Suk^ʿman received the title of *Šah-i-Armēn*; but Vardan does not use the title until p. 124, of Suk^ʿman's grandson.

¹ Matthew, p. 306; Smbat, pp. 99–100.

² Matthew, p. 306, refers to the prophecy of Nersēs concerning the coming of the Romans (*Hromayec^ʿik^ʿ*); while Kirakos, p.

throng and became angered. For that reason he was beaten until one of his eyes was knocked from its socket and fell out. Picking it up, he placed it in his wallet, and took it to Rome where he showed it. He made many burn with rancor. So their most noble men, leaders of numerous troops, came forth,³ whose names were as follows: Godefroy (*Kondop'ṛ*), and Baudouin (*Paltoyn*) his brother, of royal descent, who they say possessed the crown of Vespasian who razed Jerusalem; and the great count Baudouin, and Tancred his nephew; the count Saint-Gille (*Znĭl*); and Robert count of Normandy (*Ormnac*); and the other Baudouin; and the count Josselin—victorious and powerful men.⁴ Setting out, they came to Byzantium. In friendly fashion they reached Nicaea; defeating Ēlic Aslan once and twice, they took Nicaea and gave it to Alexius. They themselves marched on through Cilicia, took Antioch, all the coast and Jerusalem, (111) and established a king—as many histories indicate.¹

About those times the holy cross of Nunē entered Ani; when Vazgēn, prince of Georgia, apostatized, this had been hidden in the caves of Parxar by the holy monk Andreas, one of the pupils of Saint Sahak.² He remained there for seven years, then informed Grigor Mamikonean, son of Hmayeak, and brought it to the castle called Kapoyt. From there it was moved to Vanand, and was called the cross of Vanand. When the house of the Mamikoneans was extinguished by the impious Suk'man, it was brought to Ani, during the pontificate of lord Barseł. The Sunday following the eight-day feast of the Elevation of the Cross was appointed as its feast day.

In 547 count Baldwin captured T'lpasār and Urha.³ In the next year the general of Bekiarux⁴ came to Antioch to attack the Franks, and about 80,000 of them were killed. For they found on the

left-hand side of the [church] of Saint Peter the lance with which the Jews in their scoffing had wounded the saving image, whence came forth blood and water, as from the Lord's side.⁵ The weapon was honored like the one that pierced God, which the Armenians possess.⁶ Strengthened thereby, the Franks defeated their enemies, and then sent it to Alexius.⁷

65. In 548 died Constantine, the great prince of Armenia, son of Rubēn, who was one of the nobles of King Gagik. The token of his death appeared clearly and visibly. For on that very day a thunderbolt, falling from the sky, struck the silver basin that stood in front of him at the castle called Vahka.⁸ A man died immediately, and later he himself, who controlled the Black Mountain. He left two sons, T'oros and Leo.

(112) In 549 Danēšman, the lord of Sebaste, who they say was of Armenian descent, attacked Melitene. Bohemond and Richard, who were at Urha, came out to oppose him, but they were captured by him and put in prison.¹

In 550 on the Saturday the light did not kindle at Jerusalem, but [it did] on the Sunday at the ninth hour. The whole land was astonished. But the cause was the perverse actions of the Franks, who had given to women the administration of the tomb that had received God.²

That same year there came to Constantinople a great count named Petevan with 300,000 [men]; with haughty words he insulted Emperor Alexius by addressing him as "eparch."³ He received

231, refers to Nersēs' prophecy concerning the Mongols. In the *Life of Nersēs*, p. 65, foreigners (*awtark'*) are predicted; on p. 90, Franks; and on p. 91, the "nation of archers [Mongols]."

³This version of the origin of the Crusades is from Michael, pp. 295–96. He names the Frankish count St. Gille.

⁴Godefroy . . . *men*. This is from Matthew, p. 308, who refers to the crown and sword of Vespasian.

¹The advance of the Crusaders is described at length by Matthew. The accounts in Smbat and Samuēl are very brief. Cf. p. 128, at note 6, for other histories with detailed accounts.

²M.A., p. 286, refers to Andreas: "When Saint Šušanik was martyred, Andreas brought the cross of Nunē to Sper." This cross is described by M.X., II.86. But the following story is not attested in surviving Armenian sources before Vardan.

³See Matthew, p. 316. Smbat, p. 104, dates the same events to 548 (A.D. 1099).

⁴I.e., Kerbogha; cf. Matthew, p. 319.

⁵For the discovery of the lance, see Matthew, p. 322; Smbat, p. 108. They both claim that 300,000 of the enemy were killed. For the "image" see the next note.

⁶For the true lance as being in Armenia see Michael, p. 304: Thaddaeus had taken it there. The Armenian version of Michael explains the origin of the second lance with a story of the mock crucifixion of a Christian. The same miracles recurred as took place at the real Crucifixion. Vardan has softened "a Christian" to "saving image." For the lance at Hořomayr, see below, p. 129.

⁷Matthew, pp. 328–29.

⁸548 . . . *Vahka*. See Matthew, p. 329; Smbat, p. 112. Matthew does not clearly state whether it was Constantine, or his father Rubēn, who was "one of the soldiers" of Gagik; Smbat declares that Constantine was one of Gagik's "nobles." The Armenian version of Michael, p. 301, says that Rubēn was descended from both Bagratids and Senek'erim (the ancestor of the Arcrunik'). This is picked up by Kirakos, p. 109, who says that the Rubenids were descended (*yazgakanu' enē ew i zawahac'n*) from Gagik Arcruni.

¹For these events see Matthew, p. 333; Smbat, pp. 114–15. For Danēšman's "Armenian" origin, see Matthew, p. 368; Smbat, p. 125, says that he was of "Christian" descent.

²Matthew, pp. 337–39; Smbat, p. 117.

³Matthew, pp. 349 ff; Smbat, pp. 118–19. "Petevan" is the count of Poitiers.

troops from him as an escort through the land of the Turks. But at the command of their king they acted deceitfully. By leading them through a waterless wilderness and weakening them, they delivered them to Danēšman and the army of Xlič Aslan, so that Petevan escaped with only thirty men and took refuge in Antioch. On reaching Jerusalem he made his vows, then returned to Rome.⁴ In 551 ten Christian nations, save for the Armenians and Syrians, wrongly celebrated Easter on Palm Sunday, [deceived] by the wicked progeny of Irion.⁵

In 552 the Armenian prince called Goł Vasil ransomed Bohemond by helping with the sum of 10,000 *dahekan*; he was ransomed for 100,000.⁶ The same year Baldwin, (113) the count of Urha, attacked the Turks in the region of Mardin. He captured the emir Ulisalar, and brought him to Urha with many captives and thousands of thousands of sheep. In his days the patriarch Barseł came from Ani, and was greatly honored by the count with villages and treasures.¹

In 553 Danēšman died, leaving twelve sons; the eldest, Łazi, took the principality. In the same year the sultan Begiarux died, and his brother T'apar took his place.² In those same days Josselin captured Maraš. And the prince of the Greeks who was there, T'at'ul, sold the icon of the Lord's Mother to T'oros, son of Kostand, son of Rubēn, for much gold and silver.³

In 554, when the principality of the Persians was in turmoil, there arose a Scythian emir called Łzil; he captured the town of Lori, entered Dvin by force, and killed Abunasr, the brother of Manuč'ē. Manuč'ē went and received troops from the court of the Persian king; returning, he killed Łzil over the tomb of his brother, and gave Dvin into the hands of the Persians.⁴

⁴For this defeat see Matthew, pp. 350–52; Smbat, p. 119. For "Rome" Matthew reads "the land of the Franks"; Smbat says "his own country."

⁵See Matthew, p. 353. For Irion's corruption of the true reckoning of Easter, see Kirakos, p. 212. On this episode and other occasions when Easter was not celebrated on the same day by all Christians, see A. K. Sanjian, "Crazatik 'Erroneous Easter'—A Source of Greco-Armenian Religious Controversy," *Studia Caucasica* 2 (1966), 26–47.

⁶Matthew, p. 363; Smbat, p. 122.

¹*Count of Urha . . . treasures*. See Matthew, p. 364; Smbat, p. 122.

²553 . . . *place*. See Matthew, pp. 368–69; Smbat, p. 125. But Smbat gives Danēšman 13 sons.

³Matthew, p. 370, says that Maraš was taken from the Greeks; the prince of princes left it, gave the city to Josselin, and sold the icon to T'oros. He does not name T'at'ul. Vardan is closer to Smbat, p. 125, who says that Maraš was taken from the Greeks, because the prince of princes T'at'ul gave it to Josselin.

⁴For this paragraph see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 82–83.

66. At that time the patriarch Barseł, oppressed by various troubles, went to his see in Ani. Immediately he received a request from lord Grigor Pahlaw, also called Vahram, known as *Vkayasēr*: "My time has arrived; come, bury me in the Lord." He did not delay, in the hope of a final blessing. But he encountered some little tribulation on the road at the castle of Menckert near to Balu, from the Greeks there who wished to rob them. However, with courageous heart he bravely prevented them from taking what they wished, and [only] what he himself allowed. (114) But the man who carried off the hand-wrought iron cross of the apostle Thaddaeus, which they were bearing in front of them, threw it into the lake. Later it was found by Christians, alerted by its shining rays. They brought it to the holy mountain of Gregory, where his tomb is situated. And it remains there, working various miracles.¹

Continuing his long journey, he reached [the monastery] called Karmir-vank², where resided that man of God, the great prince Vasil. He was blessed by him, and he entrusted to him his foster children, who were the sons of his nephew: Grigor, who became Catholicos, and Nersēs his brother. They were the sons of Apirat. [Grigor *Vkayasēr*] himself fell asleep in the month of Trē on Saturday, in his fiftieth summer, on the feast of the prophet Jeremiah; he was buried at that spot. Vasil and all the Armenian nobility made great mourning over him.²

In the same year died the holy ascetic and prophet Markos in the province of Kokk³, at the mountain Konkīnat⁴ near Maraš. For 65 years he had not eaten bread, or anything resembling bread, but only herbs. He said that the evils of mankind will increase, the land will be ravaged by foreigners, the doors of the churches will be closed, and the Turks will again seize Jerusalem. In two places he drew water in the very desert; he was interred at the monastery of Kastałon. His feast day is the Thursday after the feast of the Mother of God.³

In 557 Tripoli was taken. For eleven years the

¹I have not found other references to this story.

²For the death of Grigor *Vkayasēr*, his burial, and the mourning of Goł-Vasil, see Matthew, pp. 370–72, abbreviated by Smbat, p. 126. Trē is the fourth month of the Armenian calendar; in 554 (555 in Smbat) Trē began on May 25, A.D. 1105. Matthew and Smbat indicate that Grigor had been patriarch for 40 years, not 50.

³For Mark see Matthew, pp. 373–74. There is a shorter account in M.A., p. 300; and a reference in Smbat, p. 126. Matthew reads "Mokk" for "Kokk"—but Maraš is far to the west of Mokk⁴. Matthew does not mention Mark's feast day.

king of Jerusalem and the count Bertram had besieged it; but the city was given to Tancred, the lord of Antioch. Therefore the king and Bertram, angry at him, (115) recaptured the city and put it to the sword and plunder. Bertram inherited the place.¹

In 559 the Persian general Mahmud ravaged the whole territory of Uřha, slaughtering and taking captives. He brought grief on all the Christians.²

The same year, in wintertime on a dark night, fire fell from on high into the lake of Vaspurakan; and since the lake cried out, it fell on the dry land. The lake turned the color of blood, and the fish died. When day dawned, they lay piled up along the shore like logs of the forest.³

Now in 560 the great prince of Armenia in his mighty wisdom took the castle of Kintroskaw, where they had killed Gagik *Šahanšah*.⁴ Since the king's murderers were [still] alive—the three brothers, sons of Mandalēon—he put them to death with tortures. He took the king's sword and garments, and the treasure of the whole province, which was kept there in safekeeping because of the castle's impregnable strength, including a cross and golden icon—a great quantity. Taking it to Vahka, he thanked God and put it in their own safe castle.⁵

(116) The patriarch Barseł did not return to Ani. But after living at that same place [Karmir-vank⁶] for a while, he then decided to go to Jerusalem. So he invited the bishops and monks of the country and the princes to come to the festival of Vardavar in order to ordain Grigor to the apostolic rank; for he himself indisputably intended to make the journey [to Jerusalem]. While they were building a house and putting up the beam, it slipped from their hands and fell on him, causing his death. But he lived for five more days and gave Grigor his rank (*astičan*). Then he died and was buried there in 562.¹

When a certain Dawit⁶, son of T⁶ornik, on the island of Ałt⁶amar, heard of this he convened a council of five bishops and was ordained Catholicos, alleging that Vahanik the Catholicos had come to Abusahl, son of Gagik, in Joroyvank⁶ and had died there.² There were there the altar of Saint Gregory, his staff and leather belt, the slipper of Saint Hrip⁶simē, and her girdle stained with blood, also her veil, which is a kerchief, left there by her heirs.³ At times of persecution they were kept safely on the island of Ałt⁶amar. And since, they said, this is the seat of the Arcruni kings, it is also fitting to be so for a patriarch. But he was not accepted, although he frequently importuned them with gifts and entreaties, especially the leading men in Ani. To these Patriarch Grigor addressed great thanks and blessings, with all the monks of the Black Mountain and with the signatures of the surrounding bishops.

(117) But while lord Barseł was still alive, the great prince of princes baron Vasil died, who by the favor of God ruled over many castles and provinces. Patriarch Barseł cared for his house and gave the principality to the young Vasil, foster-son of the great Vasil, of the Kamsarakan family.¹ For the house of Vasil was at that time a reservoir for Armenian royalty and nobility, and a seat of patriarchs.²

In the same year the great count of Antioch, the pious and just Tancred, died; his nephew Roger took the principality.³

67. In 553,⁴ on the twelfth of Mareri, the earth shook with a pitiless roar which came from mountains and cavernous rocks. The day was Sunday, and the noise was deep. Therefore it was supposed that that day was the end of the world. All the cities were ruined, and there died 40,000 people—whom they were able to count.⁵

In that same year died the *vardapet* Gēorg, nick-

¹Matthew, pp. 387–88, and Smbat, p. 132, date the quarrel over Tripoli to 558 (A.D. 1109).

²Matthew, pp. 388–89; Smbat, p. 132.

³Matthew, p. 394; Smbat, p. 134; M.A., p. 301. Vardan abbreviates Matthew's version.

⁴See p. 106 above.

⁵See Matthew, pp. 397–400; more briefly in Smbat, pp. 136–37. They name the prince as T⁶oros.

⁶For the death of Basil, see Matthew, pp. 411–12, Smbat, pp. 141–42. Vardan's account is at variance, for the others say that the accident occurred at the village of Vardaher (Varderi in Smbat), from where he was taken to Šuř. They have no reference to a summons to the festival of Vardavar, or to Basil's desire to go to Jerusalem. (Did Vardan confuse the place Vardaher with the festival Vardavar?) The accounts in Samuēl, s.a. 562, and Kirakos, p. 108, are brief.

²For Dawit⁶, Catholicos on Ałt⁶amar, see Kirakos, p. 149. Kirakos, p. 87, implies that Vahanik died in Vaspurakan; cf. above, p. 89.

³For the relics see Y.D., p. 181 (Gregory's staff and altar); T⁶.A., p. 63 (Gregory's staff, altar, ring, and belt), and p. 310 (Gregory's staff, altar, belt, Hrip⁶simē's slippers, and her girdle stained with blood).

¹Vasil . . . family: Matthew, pp. 404–5; Smbat, p. 139. They date Vasil's death to 561; Samuēl Anec⁶i dates it to 560.

²This sentence has no parallel in Matthew, Smbat, or Samuēl.

³Matthew, pp. 405–6; Smbat, p. 139. Samuēl places the death of Tancred in 562, the same year as the death of Patriarch Basil.

⁴553. So the printed text; read 563.

⁵For the earthquake see Matthew, pp. 413–17; briefly in Smbat, p. 143. *The noise was deep: jaynn var̄*. Cf. Matthew: *jaynn i vari jayn ēr*.

named Meṭrik [honey] because of his sweet teaching; he had restored the holy monastery of Dratzark. He was from the province of Vaspurakan, from the village called Analiwr—a holy and wonderful man, and a great ascetic.⁶ When the next year came round, fire fell from the sky onto the mosque (*čemia*) of Amid, which is the minaret (*mni-ray*) of the Muslims' assembly; and it burned the stone roof and the flames reached the sky.⁷

In 555⁸ T^oros, the brother of Leo, son of Kostand, seized the young Vasil and gave him to Baldwin, the count of Urha. The latter tortured him and took all his land; so the territory was taken away from the Armenians. Vasil went to Cilicia, to his father-in-law Leo, and from there to Constantinople; he was honored by the emperor with his nobles.⁹ In the next year Baldwin came to Nzēp to attack Abulṭarip the Armenian prince, (118) son of Vasak, brother of Likos, who were lords of a thousand troops. Earlier they possessed Tⁱlpašar and Pir, which they had valiantly seized from the Turks. He besieged him for a year, and took the whole [of his lands] from him. Then he went to T^oros.¹ Likewise he destroyed the other prince who dwelt in Arewēndan, Bagarat, and Kostēdin the lord of Kaṛkaṛ, whom he put to death imprisoned in the castle of Samosata.²

In 567 the king of Jerusalem Baldwin died; the other Baldwin, count of Urha, took the crown.³ In the same year died Tap^oar, the sultan of Persia; when he was near to death he had his first wife Gohar Xat^oun killed. They say he had eighty maidens attending to him, each with a crown on her head, and he was the lord of many troops by whom he had her secretly slaughtered. "Lest she," he said, "marry my brother," who held the inner land of Persia—the city of Awznkan and Xznē, which is a 90-day journey beyond Ispahan. He gave the throne to his eldest son Mahmut; and the younger, Mēlik^o, he appointed lord of Ganjak in Armenia.⁴

At the turn of the year Alexius died, and his son Porphyrogenitus took the crown; he was friendly toward the Armenians. He blamed his father, who had been led astray by false prelates; by baptizing a second time he crucified the Lord again.⁵

68. At that time the king of Georgia Dawit^o, son of Gēorg, son of Bagarat, gained strength and took Tiflis from the Persians. (119) He inflicted severe losses on Mēlik^o, the sultan of Ganjak; and in the city of Tiflis he crucified 500 warriors.¹ In those days Manuč^oē, the emir of Ani, died and his son Aplsuar governed it—a cowardly and timid man, who wanted to sell Ani for 60,000 dinars to the emir of Kars. He had an expensive and lofty crescent brought from Xlat and placed on the dome of the cathedral, replacing the one put there by his predecessors. Therefore the Christians, in anger, summoned Dawit^o and gave the city of Ani into his hands. Casting down the hateful piece of metal from the revered summit of the cathedral—which it had endured for sixty years because of our sins—they adorned it with a diadem, the crown of Christ, the boast of Paul, the sun of our redemption, the cross that received God.² Striking the clapper³ beside the cross, they professed God crucified for the salvation of the believers.

But the king, leaving Abulēt^o and his own son Ivanē in Ani, returned to his own land, taking with him Aplsuar with his sons, who died there and never returned. Dawit^o extended the borders of Georgia, taking Uxti and its territory, Gag, Tērunakan, Tayuš, Kayean, Kaycon, Lori, Tašir, Mahkanaberd, and all the Armenian principality of Kiwrikē and Abas. He also subjected the Caucasus mountain, the kingdom of the Sonk^o, Mračulk^o, Čk^oet^o, Dualēt^o, Herēt^o, and as far as the Caspian sea and Haḥband, and the city of Šapuran. (120) In his concern for the ignorant nation of Georgia, he selected forty youths and sent them to Greek territory to learn the language, make translations,

⁶Matthew, pp. 417–18; briefly in Smbat, p. 143. Samuēl and Kirakos, p. 110, place Meṭrik's death in 562. M.A., p. 301, puts the deaths of Meṭrik, Sarkawag, and Dawit^o son of Alawik in the same year; see below, p. 121.

⁷Matthew, p. 419; Smbat, p. 144. For "mosque" (the Arabic *čemia* in Vardan) Matthew has "school (*čemaran*)" and Smbat *čemel* (sic!).

⁸555. So the printed text; read 565.

⁹Matthew, pp. 421–22; Smbat, pp. 144–45.

¹Matthew, pp. 422–23; Smbat, p. 145. Matthew does not here refer to Nzēp, while Smbat reads Nzēp for Tⁱlpašar.

²Matthew, p. 423; not in Smbat.

³Matthew, pp. 425–26; Smbat, p. 146. Samuēl Anec^oi places the death of Baldwin in 565.

⁴Tap^oar . . . Armenia. See Matthew, pp. 426–28. Smbat, p. 147,

has a briefer account and does not mention the maidens (who number 400 in Matthew).

⁵Matthew, pp. 432–33; Smbat, pp. 148–49. They both say that Porphyrogenitus stopped Alexius' policy of rebaptism (Dulaurier's rendering here is wrong); but neither refer to "crucifying the Lord again."

¹Matthew, pp. 438–39; Smbat, pp. 149–50.

²The recovery of Ani is briefly described by Matthew, pp. 451–52, Smbat, p. 155. They date this to 573 (A.D. 1124). See also the *History of the City of Ani* (see Bibliography below), pp. 108–9, and in general Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 83–84.

³Clapper: *žamahar*, a wooden clapper; see also below, p. 149 note 6. This sentence is not in Matthew or Smbat.

and bring them back. Which indeed they did. Three of them were particularly notable and intelligent, an adornment to that unadorned nation.¹ He was not irresolute with regard to the church or our prayers. Therefore he frequently put his head under our hands, seeking a blessing.² He ruled for thirty-three years,³ and died in Tiflis. He was buried in Gelati, in the tomb of his fathers.⁴ His son Demetrē took the crown; he preserved in like manner the kingdom of his father, and even more so, taking Dmanik^c and the city of Xunan from the Persians.⁵

69. At that time a son of Aplsuar's who lived in Xorasan, on hearing what had happened to his father and brothers and of the death of Dawit^c, came to seek his patrimonial city, Ani.⁶ With supplications he begged it from Abulēt^c and the leading men of the city. Since the city was in great danger from the Turks, Apulēt^c gave it to him, sparing the Christians and especially his own son Ivanē, lest he perish from the frequent battles. He himself went off to his own house. But P^catlun, son of Aplsuar, taking good care of the city and all its territories, with valiant efforts made peace; he also captured Dvin and Ganjak, and became renowned.

Since he wished to lay hands on the holy cathedral, after three months great terror fell on him from being wounded by fire-like men, who came forth out of the keys of the church which he had taken from the holy minister Grigor. He had been intending the next day to rob the church of its vessels, with which the heavenly pavilion was adorned following sixty years (121) of mourning.¹ But he was made ill by this vision and was terrified; so he

begged prayers from Grigor, removing him from prison and the bonds in which he had been kept. For a few days [earlier] he had gone to Virap;² and on his return to Dvin, seeing the fearsome crowd of Turks in their swarming camp, he had cried out with a loud voice, saying: "Blessed is Christ God, son of God," which he had been accustomed to do daily in Ani. For his companion in prayer had jokingly whispered in his ears: "Behold, this is the place to bless Christ." Therefore they had bound him and led him to P^catlun. They put him in prison, and intended to kill him there that same night on which they had arrested him; but the Lord saved him in this fashion.

70. The *vardapets* at that time were: Yovhannēs, also known as Sarkawag [deacon], from the province of P^carisos, of a priestly family, the memory of whose splendor shines out until now in his works.³ His pupils included: Eremia, also known as Anjrewik [rain], who for thirty years ate dried food; he was so compliant to his teacher, that when the latter once insisted that he be quiet, he did not speak to anyone for three years, except his teacher when necessary.⁴ And Samuēl, a secular priest from Ani, who composed the *Chronicle*.⁵ Prior to these was Anania from Sanahin, who abbreviated the [Acts of the] Apostles at the command of the Catholicos Petros.⁶

Now the *vardapet* Sarkawag lived in busy activity all his days; he died in 588.⁷ One year later [died] his colleague Dawit^c, son of Alawik, who wrote easily comprehensible canons.⁸ The latter's pupils [included] the one called son of T^cok^caker [nettle-eater?],⁹ (122) and other ascetics in Aḥuank^c such as Petros, son of Xont'ik, and the wonderful Yakob,¹ who one day saw Satan riding on the shoulders of a monk who was coming to him for confes-

¹The Georgian *Chronicle* expatiates at length on Dawit's patronage of learning as well as his military prowess. See the abbreviated rendering in the Armenian Juanšēr, ch. 18. The most notable scholar of Dawit's time (king 1089–1125) was John Petric'i, who had studied in Constantinople; the more famous of the Georgian translators lived somewhat earlier, in the 10th and 11th centuries.

²Juanšēr, p. 122, indicates that Dawit^c used to confess his sins to Yovhannēs Sarkawag and was blessed by him. Vardan is here quoting from the latter's lost *History*, since he himself was not born before A.D. 1200!

³According to Juanšēr, p. 123, he died in his 53rd year, having become king at the age of 16. But the Georgian *Chronicle*, I, p. 363, gives him 36 years of reign (34 in Brosset, p. 380), though he died aged 53 and was 16 on becoming king (ibid., p. 354).

⁴For Gelati as the burial place of Georgian kings, see Kirakos, p. 390.

⁵Dimitri I (1125–55).

⁶For the taking of Ani by Fadlun III, see Samuēl Anec'i, s.a. 573; M.A., p. 302. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 84–85.

⁷For the 60 years of captivity, see above, p. 119.

²I.e., the monastery dedicated to Saint Gregory, Xor-Virap. This tale is not otherwise attested.

³For Yovhannēs Sarkawag and his works, see Kirakos, p. 113. His calendar is also mentioned by M.A.

⁴There is a reference to this Eremia also in Samuēl, according to Ačāryan, *Dict. of Names*, s.v. The Armenian text was unavailable to me.

⁵For Samuēl see also Kirakos, p. 84.

⁶For Anania and his biblical commentaries, see Kirakos, pp. 112–13.

⁷Samuēl places Sarkawag's death in 577.

⁸For Dawit^c, son of Alawik, see also Kirakos, p. 116, who says he died in 579. Samuēl dates Dawit's death to 581.

⁹Kirakos, p. 116, names him Grigor from Ganjak.

¹M.A., p. 302, refers to Petros and Yakob, but does not repeat the following story of the vision. The same tale appears in the 14th-century Life of Yovhannēs Sarkawag in A. Abrahamyan, *Hovhannes Imastaseri Matenagrut'yunē* (Erevan, 1956), p. 123.

sion. When he came close, [Satan] pricked and spurred him, making him flee away. He [Yakob] ordered his servant to run after him and bring him by force. On being questioned, he said: "I came to you in remorse and repentance; but remembering my accustomed deeds I turned from you." The saint told him the vision. Then he fell at his feet, and having confessed received absolution. There were also women of royal descent living as nuns in chastity at K'obayr—Xorasu and Mariam, to whom the *vardapet* Sarkawag wrote admonitory advice.²

71. In 579 Xur^{ci}, son of Kzin, came to Dvin and occupied it, having wounded P^{at}lun in the battle; some traitors secretly strangled him, giving as pretext the wound, which was not fatal. P^{at}lun's younger brother Xuššer took the emirate; then a little later the elder, Mahmut. And the land of Ani once more fell into misery.³

Not very distant from those times the son of Apulēt^c, Ivanē, wanted to kill Demetrē and his brother Gorgi. But his father Apulēt^c, pulling out his white hairs before his son, prevented him. The two of them were locked up in the castle of Dmanik^c on the excuse of some treachery between the brothers. Then, when Demetrē heard of this, he said to Ivanē: "You captured me, father."⁴ He, in remorse, said: "No, king, but I gave your brother into your hands; he was trying to seize your kingdom." He captured him, blinded him, and let him go.

(123) At that time the plain of Gag was filled with a numberless and incalculable host of cavalry gathered from all the nations of the impious, who wished to burn the holy cross dedicated to the general Sargis. But rendered crazy by the Lord's anger, they slew each other. Hearing of this, Demetrē went and gained possession of their baggage without any trouble. In those same days a young brother of P^{at}lun's, hearing that his grandmother Katay¹ of the Bagratuni house was a Christian of

royal descent, felt his soul turn to love for Christ. Going to the mountain of Saint Gregory, he was baptized and lived as a monk for fifteen years in great asceticism, until they saw the ineffable light shining through the skylight of his hut. Then he went to Drazark, where he died in Christ.

In 580 Ivanē, son of Apulēt^c, rebelled in Garni. His troops were defeated by Xurt^{ci}, who cut off their heads and cooked them as soup; their skulls be placed high up on the minaret in rows like stone walls. When the next year came round, Ivanē was treacherously killed by Demetrē. His son T^{ir}k^aš went to the chief emir, the Šah-i-Armēn; and receiving Aršarunik^c from him, he ravaged the land of Georgia with great valor.²

In 588 Ganjak was destroyed by an earthquake.³

72. Seven years before this the Šah-i-Armēn, who was the grandson of Suk^cman, ruled over the land of Xlat^c and many other cities.⁴ He killed his grandmother, who had killed her sons, and seized power. When he grew up, they wished to strangle him; (124) but by God's favor he escaped and ruled over twelve cities. He was entitled "king of the Armenians," which is *Šah-i-Armēn* in their language. He made Saldux his son-in-law, and planned through him to benefit the country. At that time lived also Eltkuz the At^{abeg}, similarly well disposed. God made the three of them friendly to Christians and solicitous for the country. This Šah-i-Armēn went to Sasun and was debauching himself in some village. When Vigēn, the lord of the area, heard of this, he went one night and surrounded the house in which he was staying. When he said jokingly to someone: "O Vigēn, where are you?" [the latter] replied through the skylight: "Here I am, by God's grace." Seizing him, he took him to his castle; but after some days he released him with a sworn pact of friendship.

In those days the Persian general Eltkuz attacked him, but was defeated and went off in shame. He took Amuk from Xetenik, and Sasun from Vigēn,¹ with all its monasteries. And he preserved [the land] in deep peace for sixty years.

In his days there was a severe famine in Meso-

²M.A., p. 302, refers to Xorasu and Mariam living in virginity at K'obayr, but not to Sarkawag's admonitions. Cf. also Movsean, "Lori," p. 249.

³For this paragraph see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 85–86.

⁴This episode is not attested elsewhere; see Brosset, *Additions*, I, p. 245. *You captured me, father: kalar zis, mam.* Mam is Georgian for "father"; *kalar* the 2nd sing. aorist of the Armenian verb "to hold, seize." Brosset renders as an imperative: "tue-moi."

¹This paragraph has no parallel in other Armenian historians. Katay is not attested elsewhere in Armenian; see Ačariyan, *Dict. of Names*, s.v. But a Kata was sister of the Georgian Bagratid Dimitri, king 1125–54/5; see the *Georgian Chronicle*, I, p. 366 (Brosset, p. 382).

²For this paragraph see Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 86.

³See Kirakos, p. 117; Samuēl s.a. 588. M.A., p. 302, dates the earthquake to 590 (A.D. 1141).

⁴There is a brief reference to the Šah-i-Armēn capturing Xlat^c in M.A., p. 302.

¹M.A. p. 303, briefly refers to the seizure of Amuk and Sasun by Eltkuz. In his Armenian text the princes' names are spelled Xaltenik and Virgen.

potamia. A priest Awet by name,² of Armenian descent, loaded wheat on donkeys and brought it to be ground at the water mill. Grief-stricken at the sight of the unfortunate, he distributed everything to the poor. Selling the donkeys, he did likewise. He never returned to his house, but donning a [shirt of] goat's hair, he went around preaching in cities and villages in a Christian fashion. For he had a talented way of speaking, and the Lord gave him the grace of working miracles. Many wicked people, repenting at his words, were converted. He took care of orphans and widows, filling their needs by his mediation with the mighty. News about him spread, and great crowds came and followed him. He came as far as Manazkert; the Šah-i-Armēn came out to meet him with great pomp, (125) and seeking his prayers escorted him with honor into the city. But since he reproached the fornicating priests, they denounced him to the Šah, saying: "He is a spy of the Roman king;" and they had him stoned. Over him they saw a heavenly light for three days and three nights. Seeing which, the Šah lamented the saint's death and commanded that his bones be revered.

73. In 590 Porphyrogenitus came and took Cilicia, leading off to Constantinople Leo, brother of T'oros, with his family and sons and also the icon of the Lord's Mother. There Leo, son of Kostand, died.¹ Two years later Porphyrogenitus died, and his son Kīr Manuel took the crown. That same year the king of Jerusalem died. Both of them were ambushed while hunting: the king of the Greeks [while hunting] for boars, the king of Jerusalem, for hares.²

In 594 the emir Zangi captured Urha.³ Two years later Josselin, who was its lord, [re-]took it.⁴ But seventy days later he was slain by the Turks, who had come and captured the city again. So died that valiant man, very friendly to Armenians. For him the *vardapet* Gēorg, who was his father-confessor, composed elegies.⁵

²Awet is not attested elsewhere.

¹The Continuator to Matthew's *History*, Gregory the Priest, p. 465, dates this expedition of John Comnenus to 586 (A.D. 1137). (All references to Matthew, p. 465 or following, are to his Continuator.)

²Matthew, p. 468, and Smbat, p. 162, date these events to 592. Matthew refers to the king of Jerusalem hunting, and Smbat to the emperor hunting. Vardan has combined the two.

³Matthew, p. 469, dates this to 592; Smbat, p. 163, to the year 593. Michael, p. 305, dates it to 572.

⁴Matthew, p. 472, two years later; Smbat, p. 165, in 596.

⁵There is some confusion here. According to Matthew, p. 473, and Smbat, p. 165, Baldwin was killed, and Barset his fa-

ther when our era reached the year 600 the sons of Leo, T'oros and Step'anē, came and ruled with great wisdom and valor over their patrimony, Cilicia. They defeated Andronikos the Greek general, who was stationed there with 12,000.⁶ When Manuel heard of this, he bribed once and twice the sultan Masud to avenge him.⁷ At the second irruption of the sultan, fear of the Lord fell upon them, and they all fled, slaughtering each other and abandoning there all their possessions. For their general Atup had wished to go with 3,000 to Anavarza in the region of Antioch. (126) But Step'anē, brother of T'oros, fell on him and slew them all. When they heard the news of this disaster in the main camp, they all trembled, and there remained not a breath of strength in them. The sultan barely escaped; but on taking refuge in his lair he was killed, having given the title to Xlič Aslan, his son, in 604.¹

At that same time the Franks captured the city of Ascalon.² In those same times Manuel came to Cilicia and subdued T'oros amicably. Taking him and the troops of the Franks, he attacked Aleppo. But on hearing news from the capital, he returned home. The Turks massacred 12,000 of them on the road.³

74. Now the king of Georgia, Demetrē, died after reigning for 32 years. His son Dawit' took the crown, an intelligent and kindly man. He released from prison T'irk'aš, whom his father had imprisoned, and made him a general; but a month later he died. Some say [he was killed] by Smbat and Ivanē in a plot of the Orbeleans, because he put T'irk'aš in their place, and they had made an agreement with Gēorg, Dawit's brother, that he would appoint them generals. Gēorg took the crown in 605.⁴

In those days were discovered in Šahapivan the bodies of Gnel's murderers, with clothes undecayed and bodies stained with blood, just as they

ther confessor composed elegies for him. Josselyn escaped; here there is a lacuna in the text of Matthew; see Smbat, p. 165. He later died in prison; see Matthew, p. 527, Michael, p. 309.

⁶Matthew, p. 507, and Smbat, p. 170, omit reference to Stephen here. The number 12,000 is found in Smbat.

⁷Matthew, p. 509; Smbat, p. 171; Michael, p. 312.

¹*Athup* . . . 604: Matthew, pp. 512–15; Smbat, pp. 172–73.

²Matthew, p. 527, dates this to 602; but Smbat, p. 177, to 606 (A.D. 1157).

³Matthew, pp. 536–39; Smbat, pp. 179–83.

⁴The Georgian *Chronicle*, I, p. 366 (Brosset, p. 382), has no reference to T'irk'aš or a plot in its brief description of Dawit's reign.

had been killed according to the curse of Saint Nersēs.⁵

In 610 Gēorg, king of Georgia, captured Ani from the emir P^{at}lun, who had succeeded his brother Šatat. Fifty days later the Šah-i-Armēn arrived with many troops to attack the city, which had suffered much tribulation from the Sonk^c. On hearing this, Gēorg returned and defeated them with much slaughter.⁶ No one could count the number of slain, (127) but there were 20,000 prisoners.¹ He left in Ani the prince Sadun, against whom there were suspicions of rebellion because he had carefully strengthened the rampart of the city. When he knew of this, the king deposed him from his office. In pique he went over to Eltkuz. But he was treacherously arrested by the *eristaw* of Šak^cē, brought to the king, and put to death. They installed in his place at Ani Sargis, the Zak^carean prince. But Eltkuz, despite his anger, was unable to do anything because 4,000 Persians had perished with Sadun.²

Then the king of Georgia gathered around him the troops of the Caucasus, and came and took Dvin. With sword and fire he cruelly afflicted them, save for the Christians there.³ Taking the cooked skulls from the minaret, he adorned them with gold-embroidered garments. Placing them on biers, borne on the shoulders of mullas,⁴ he had them brought barefoot as far as Tiflis, his capital city, in 612. Hearing of this, Eltkuz came to Dvin, that had been burned and devastated; then wounded in heart and roaring like a wild beast, he came to Mren and burned the castle there. About 4,000 persons were killed as a burnt sacrifice for Christ.⁵ Then he returned to the plain of Gag, and ordered the famous cross to be burned. Therefore they were punished by the Lord's anger, afflicted

day and night by poisonous snakes. Finally, terrified by the king of Georgia, he fled, leaving his baggage and prisoners there. However, he incited the sultan Cīvīz Aslan, son of Mahmud, and took him to Ani. For four years he kept it in troubled anguish without respite, until the king of Georgia, Gēorg, having pity on the city, summoned the sultan and gave him Ani. For he was unable to defend it from the multitude of the infidels.⁶

75. At that time the see of Armenia moved around to many places: (128) to Karmir-vank^c, to Šuṛ, to Covk^c, settling at the castle Hoṛomklay, so called because a Roman [Greek] monk lived there. From the latter the Muslims seized it, from them Vasil the Armenian prince, and from him the Franks took it. While its prince¹ was out hunting, he was deceitfully betrayed into the hands of the Muslims who took him to Aleppo, where he died. His wife, who was in Hoṛomklay, sent to Covk^c; when they brought the patriarch,² she gave [the castle] over to him, saying: "My son lives beyond the sea with my parents. I shall go, and if he is alive I shall send him to you. So, as a faithful guardian, give it to him. But if he is not [alive], it is better for you [to have it] than foreigners." She went and sent her son, to whom they gave all the effects and turned over [the castle].³ Since he did not have the confidence to dwell alone among Muslims, because the Turks ruled all the surrounding provinces, it became the possession of the Armenian see. The pious wife of prince Jocelyn, moved by the Spirit, gave it to the two brothers in the Lord, Grigor and Nersēs.⁴

In 615, when lord Grigor died, lord Nersēs succeeded to the throne.⁵ To them Manuel sent a request for the confession of faith. They gave in writing a very able and satisfactory confession of everything, which we possess. They wished to effect a union of the nations, but the task remained unfinished, as the more elaborate histories indicate.⁶

⁵For the murder of Gnel and Nersēs' curse, see P^{awstos}, IV.15; M.X., III.23–25. They associate Gnel's murder with Šahapivan, but not the subsequent death of his murderers..

⁶Matthew, pp. 542–43; Smbat, p. 184; briefly in Samuēl, s.a. 610. But these sources have no reference to the Sonk^c—for whom see above, p. 119. Cf. also Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 89–90.

¹Matthew, p. 543, mentions 7,000 dead, 2,000 slaves (*carays*) captured, six chieftains, 150 great emirs, numerous animals; Smbat, p. 184, mentions 6,000 notable captives.

²The information about Sadun does not appear in other Armenian sources; see on this episode Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 92. For Sargis the Zak^carean prince, cf. Kirakos, p. 163.

³The recovery of Dvin is described by Matthew, pp. 546–47. He dates this to 611; Smbat, p. 186, dates it to 614. Michael, p. 321, does not date it precisely. For non-Armenian sources see Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 92.

⁴Mullas: *mukri*, from the Arabic *muqri*, "reciter (of the Quran)." See also below, p. 140.

⁵Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 93.

⁶Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 95–96. For a battle between Gēorg and Eltkuz in the plain of Gag, see Step^{anos} Orbelean, ch. 66.

¹I.e., Josselyn; see below.

²Grigor III, patriarch 1113–66.

³The Armenian text is unclear. *Darjuc^cin andrēn* could mean "they sent [him] back"—i.e., to France—"because he did not have the confidence . . .".

⁴This account of the acquisition of Hōmklā has its closest parallel in Michael, p. 309. The briefer versions in Kirakos, p. 109, and Smbat, pp. 168–69, do not refer to Josselyn's son.

⁵Samuēl also dates Nersēs' accession to 615 (A.D. 1166); but Smbat, p. 188, places it in 616.

⁶For the Armenian declaration of faith, see Kirakos, pp. 121–

In that same year there was a fearful earthquake, and Eznkay was destroyed.⁷ At the same time the remaining castles of Kapan were taken by the Muslims: Grham, Geṭi, and Kak'awaberd, because of our abundant sins.

At that time, for the consolation of the Christians, the beautiful fruit, ripe and sweet-tasting, the youth Yovsēp^c, was martyred with torture on the 20th of the month Aheak, (129) and was buried in Havut'ar. He was a Persian by race, from the region of Dvin, from the village called Norašēnk^c.¹

In those same days Gēorg Ač'ikay, on his way to Rome, raised from the dead his prelate Grigor, whom brigands had slain in the province of Unkar'k^c. But he reprimanded him, saying: "Why did you restore me again to the misery of this life from the ineffable blessings which I was enjoying?"²

A miracle was worked in Hoṛomayr by the famous holy relic. They brought a youth blind from birth, and placed on his eye sockets the weapon that had pierced God.³ Immediately the eye sockets were rent and much blood flowed; his eyes were then restored quite perfectly, to the glory of the crucified God. He was from Ujun; and the name of the abbot of the monastery when this took place was Petros.⁴

In 621 the patriarch Nersēs ended his life.⁵ For seven years he had served in that office, ordaining seven bishops without fee—famous and select men, some teachers, others philosophers. Grigor his nephew received the veil with the assistance of Nureddin. His other nephew Grigorēs, also called Apirat, went to Lampron and tended the see of Tarsus.⁶

47. Smbat, p. 189, also says that the task of reconciliation remained "unfinished" (*ankatar*, as Vardan). Michael, pp. 329–31, describes the negotiations between Greeks and Armenians.

The "more elaborate histories" are those by Kirakos and Michael. Cf. p. 111 at note 1 for reference to other histories that give details omitted by Vardan. On p. 151 at note 2 the "detailed histories" are those of Kirakos and Vanakan.

⁷As Samuēl, *s.a.* 615.

¹The martyrdom of Yovsēp^c from Dvin is not described by other historians. For the hagiographical literature, see the *BHO* (see Bibliography below), *s.v.* Ioseph Dvinensis.

²In the *Synaxarion* for Ahekan 27 there is a long account of Georg of Arčēš and the miracle he performed in Hungary on the way to Rome from Jerusalem. But it does not include this comment by the prelate Grigor.

³On pp. 73–74 above Vardan refers to the relic of the Cross at Hoṛomayr. But here the Lance is intended; cf. p. 111 above.

⁴This Petros is not otherwise attested.

⁵Samuēl Anec'i and Smbat, p. 190, place Nersēs' death in 622 (A.D. 1173).

⁶The succession to Nersēs Šnorhali is described by Michael, pp. 336–37, and Kirakos, p. 147. Kirakos, however, calls Grigor

76. In 623 Gēorg took Ani a second time at the inducement of Ivanē the *spasalar* [general]; the latter wanted to reside there and effect the return⁷ of Christians. The king took with him the emir Šahanšah;⁸ (130) and he never returned there again. When all the inhabitants of Turk'astan heard of this, they gathered together; and taking the sultan called Alp^c Aslan with them, they came to Ani and ravaged the area of Širak. Now Ivanē wished to give the city to the Turks; but the deed was not successfully accomplished, because the city learned of it and they took precautions. So the sultan and his atabeg went away vexed at heart, and they both died in the same year.¹

At that same time the great prince Apirat left the prison of Kars and came to Ani. He was the brother of the bishop of that city, lord Barsef; the latter beseeched the king of Georgia, who made him successor to the amir. So he received [the city] and 17,000 *dahekans*. At that time Ivanē revealed his wickedness. Winning over to himself their king's nephew Demnē [Dimitri] and many of the nobles, he plotted to kill the king while he was in Saxata, unsuspecting. But on hearing of this from some man, he fled to Tiflis, for they were few in number. There many joined him, abandoning the wicked plot. When the king's side had become strong, he wished to attack the rebels who were in Saxata. They fled to their strongholds and then to Lori, except for Liparit who went over to the Persians with two sons. The king seized all the treasure of the Orbeleans; and everyone fell at the king's feet, his nephew and the others with him, even Ivanē himself. He blinded the latter's eyes, and killed his younger son K'avtar, and also Inē [Ivanē], the son of Liparit. So all their wicked plans came to nothing, in 626.²

The sultan Arp^c Aslan was succeeded by Tuṭril, and Eltkuz by P'alhavan. The last ruled over the

V K'aravēž the T'lay (youth), not Grigor IV who succeeded Šnorhali for 20 years. Neither Kirakos nor Smbat refer here to Nureddin or Apirat (i.e., Grigor VI, Catholicos 1194–1203).

⁷Return: *geradarj*, not attested in the *NBHL*, but meaning "captive-return." The word does not necessarily imply the paying of a ransom.

⁸The emir was the brother of Fadlun; see p. 130 note 1. Vardan explains the title *šahanšah* below, p. 153 at note 4.

¹Kirakos, p. 163, briefly refers to the conquests of the Georgians Ivanē and Zak'arē, including the capture of Ani. But the closest parallel with Vardan is al-Fariqi; see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 96–97. The latter also gives the date A.D. 1174 (623 of the Armenian era), against the reading 626 in the section of Vardan translated by Dulaurier, and Brosset, *Additions*, p. 256.

²The plot against Gēorg and his response are not described in Armenian sources before Vardan. For this paragraph see

inner country, and Xzil Aslan over the upper country; they were his sons. (131) In those same days Caṛak'ar was taken by robbers at the command of Łarac', the emir of Keč'ror,¹ who sold it to Xzil Aslan for much gold. He settled there pernicious men, who did not desist from shedding blood by day or by night, even killing the Christians who had been plunged into profound gloom by famine and the foul stench of those killed earlier. They slaughtered five notable monks with painful wounds inflicted by knives in the form of a cross, as a jest.

77. In 628 the king of Jerusalem with three hundred cavalry defeated Salahadin at the gate of Jerusalem by the power of the holy Cross. He had come with 140,000 men to take Jerusalem, bringing water on 60,000 camels; they were continually drawing from rivers and springs. At first his name was Yusuf, son of Ēub, a poor man from Dvin; when he grew mighty he was called Salahadin, which is "peace of faith."²

In 629 Gēorg removed thieves and brigands from the land. For, all his troops being gathered together, he decreed that they should mercilessly hang them all on gibbets, for deeds great or small. Even many nobles were hung. The possessions that they found they also brought and hung on gibbets of punishment, hanging even animals, dogs, and mice. So fear fell on everyone, and there was great peace.³

At that time Manuel died.⁴ His wife, who was the daughter of the prince of Antioch, wished to marry a Frank and kill her own son Alexius, to whom they had given the crown. The youth fled into the church, and they informed Andronicus, Manuel's kinsman. He came and killed the *sebastos* who wished to marry the queen. He also slaughtered the race of Franks who were in the city. (132) As for those who had embarked on ships and fled, firing naphtha (*nfat*) onto the ships he burned

30,000 men. The youth he also killed, and took the crown. He sent for a man of royal blood, P'isik by name,¹ in order to kill him too. But he took strength, slew the messenger, and with a great shout came into Saint Sophia. The city was in turmoil. They cruelly slaughtered Andronicus; and his two sons, innocent children, they drowned in the sea.

In 631 Xarač'ay, who had seized Caṛak'ar and had smashed with a hammer the cross called that of Goroz, became terror-stricken. Suddenly abandoning his home, Keč'ror, and Uxt'ik', and the whole valley of the Araxes, he went with his wife and children to Dvin. He saw a fearsome man who said to him: "I am the cross of Goroz which you broke up; behold I shall kill you by the hands of your friend the Šah-i-Armēn." He related the vision, and the next morning went off, escaping by force, although they had restrained him because of the frightening vision, even shutting the gates. But he climbed down over the wall, and with two horses reached Manazkert. He entered the presence of the Šah, who immediately arose, struck him through the heart with his dagger, and slew him.²

The same year a certain Sargis of Xač'en was living in Ganjak and collecting the *xarač* [tax]. A certain Persian crucified him on the wall on Good Friday, saying: "Be crucified with your Christ." When the princes of Ganjak heard this, they had the Persian brought and put him to a cruel death.³

In those same days a certain Yordanan of Tačik descent was martyred with great show in the city of Karin. His relics were placed with [those of] Yovsēp' and Sahak, his kinsmen.⁴

78. In 633 Gēorg, the king of Georgia died. (133) He had no son, and Demnay, Dawit's son, had been blinded and castrated.¹ So then his daughter T'amar took the crown; he had married her to the son of the king of the Russians, Soslan,

Step'anos Orbelean, ch. 66, and the Georgian *Chronicle*, II, pp. 18–23 (Brosset, pp. 397–401). In Step'anos the form Demnē for Dimitri is also found.

¹For Caṛak'ar see the *History of the City of Ani*, p. 109, and for Łarac' (Xarač'ay on p. 132) see Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 123.

²For the battle of Ramla, see Michael, p. 343. Smbat, p. 195, and more briefly Kirakos, p. 150, give Saladin's background when discussing a later battle in 636; see below, p. 135.

³There is a brief reference to Gēorg's actions against brigands in M.A., p. 303. The Georgian *Chronicle* does not have any reference to these actions of Gēorg's.

⁴In A.D. 1180. For the following account see Michael, p. 345. There is only a brief reference in Smbat, p. 193.

¹P'isik: Isaac II Angelus, emperor 1185–95. The same form is used by Michael, pp. 346–48. Vardan's account is not identical with Michael's: the latter does not mention the drowning of Andronicus' sons or refer to naphtha (*nfat*). For an Armenian description of naphtha and sulphur used in incendiary projectiles, see T'.A., pp. 131–32.

²Xarač'ay and his fate are not described in other Armenian sources. See Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 123.

³There is a brief reference to the martyrdom of Sargis in M.A., p. 303.

⁴M.A., p. 303, briefly refers to Yordanan's martyrdom at Karin.

¹Demnay (i.e., Dimitri) had been involved in a plot against his uncle King Gēorg; see above, p. 130.

who captured the city of Dvin.² When the next year came round, Šah-i-Armēn died childless; devastation, sword, and captivity were spread over his land by the surrounding nations. Since the grandson of Vigēn, Šahanšah the nephew of lord Grigor the Catholicos, had been present at the *šah's* death, taking his own [men] he went down to Sasun. There Bekdamur, who was prince of all the *šah's* house, fell into his hands. Receiving from him the castle called T^carjean, he released him with a pact. But he was false to the pact when he ruled on the *šah's* throne; even this [castle] and all of Sasun he took from him, and he subjected the churches and monasteries to taxation.

In 634 Rubēn was captured by the prince; he was released by his brother Leo, son of Step^canē, son of Leo, son of Kostand, son of Rubēn, who controlled seventy-two castles, held sway over Greeks and Persians, and imposed tribute on Ēliç Aslan, sultan of Anatolia.³

In 635 the inhabitants of Ani seized Carak^car, the patrimony of lord Barseł, mercilessly slaughtering its population except for women and children. When Ališēr, the emir of Dvin, heard of this he pulled out his beard and dressed in black, on account of his wife and children who were there and because of the slaughter of his troops. But by the Christians the holy Trinity was praised.⁴

79. Now P^cisik, who was also known as Sahak, ruled over the Greeks, and instigated persecutions and tortures against the nations of Armenian tradition so that they might convert to their sect. Therefore Patriarch Grigor wrote a supplication to him to make peace with the people of God.⁵ But he did not heed him; rather, he converted many to his own religion and persecuted the others. And

where there used to be the sees of three bishops and one thousand six hundred priests, (134) these he gathered together and compelled [to convert], few of them escaping with faith intact. Lord Grigor wrote to the East describing these afflictions; they were stricken at heart, but could not do anything.

The same patriarch also sent a bishop named Grigor¹ to the Pope of Rome with regard to the danger that the Armenians were enduring from the Romans, so that they might request prayers and blessings, as their predecessors had. The Pope greatly honored him, had him celebrate the liturgy, and took communion; he also robed him with his own high-priestly garment. He gathered around him all the nobles: the emperor of the Germans, the king of the English, the king of the French, with each one's [troops]; the patriarch of the Germans, who had 25,000 cavalry; the archbishop of Spain, who had 20,000 cavalry; the archbishop of Saint James, who controlled 5,000 cavalry; the great archbishop of the great city of Milan, who controlled 36,000 cavalry; and from this side, the patriarch of Jerusalem. Taking counsel with them, he wrote a document at the order of the holy delegates on their behalf to the effect that: "The Armenian patriarch beyond the sea was to have authority over the Armenians and the Greeks and all nations, just as we do on this side with heavenly and earthly keys. And because there is a long journey between me and my brother, the patriarch of the Armenians, I have sent to him my amice, and crown, and slipper, that wearing these he may celebrate the liturgy, with [my] ring." And he said to the bishop Grigor: "Take [these] and dress your patriarch. Thenceforth let him have authority for ever and ever."²

80. Now in 636 it happened that Salahadin's merchants were crossing through Palestine carrying valuable merchandise on 400 camels. The count of Tripoli informed the king of Jerusalem about this, and he received the order³ to plunder them. (135) On hearing of this, Salahadin sent begging messages once and a second time [requesting] at least only his servants,¹ and reminding

²Vardan has run together T^camar's two husbands: the first was George, son of the duke of Vladimir; the second was David Soslan, an Ossete. But there may be a scribal corruption here, for on p. 139 the two are carefully distinguished. T^camar reigned 1184 (633 of the Armenian era) to 1212. Vardan, p. 138 below, refers to the capture of Dvin in 1203 (652) by T^camar's princes Zak^carē and Ivanē. Soslan died in 1207. For an attack on Dvin in the time of T^camar's first husband, see the *Georgian Chronicle*, II, p. 39 (Brosset, p. 415).

³There is a more detailed account of Rubēn's release in Smbat, p. 194. The "prince" is the prince of Antioch. For the 72 castles see Michael, p. 357.

⁴For these events, unattested elsewhere, see Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 123–24.

⁵Kirakos and Smbat do not describe these policies of Isaac Angelus or the letter of Grigor IV T^cay, Catholicos 1173–93. For the text of Isaac's letter, see H. Bart^cikyan, *Ejmiacin*, 1967, part 4, 50–55; and P. Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arménie-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle (1165–1198)*, OCA 124 (Rome, 1939), pp. 52–53, for this passage in Vardan.

¹See the *History of the City of Ani*, pp. 110–11. This Grigor was the bishop of Philippopolis; see the discussion of this passage in Tekeyan, pp. 52–53.

²M.A., p. 304, indicates that the Pope sent to Grigor a crown and amice (*psak, vakas*). For the Armenian version of the Latin letter sent by Pope Lucius III, see M. Č'amč'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayoc', III* (Venice, 1786), pp. 142–45.

³Order: *hraman*, perhaps here "permission."

¹At least only his servants: *goneay zcařayasn miayn*. This phrase is

him of the sworn covenant between them. But he paid no heed. Therefore in anger he attacked him. The king of Jerusalem came out against him with 36,000 men to the plain of Hermon.² Since the count of Tripoli treacherously halted on an arid hillock, he was surrounded by the Turks and captured with heavy losses. All the cities along the seashore were taken, and then Jerusalem. Its inhabitants he ordered not to be slaughtered but to be ransomed, setting the price of a male at ten *dahekans*, and of a female at five.³ They could take all their other possessions and go wherever they might wish. And they did so.

But the impious count, who had secretly allied himself with Salahadin, was smitten by the Lord and killed. Salahadin attacked his castle, asking for his wife and the fortress. She requested hostages from among the nobles, so that she might go to him and become his wife. Taking them inside, she cut off their heads and threw them outside; at which they were terrified and went away.⁴ For they had heard the report of the approach of the great king of the Germans, who was coming at the mournful news of the Holy Sepulcher and all the Christians, sending 150,000 cavalry by sea. These had arrived and were besieging Akka. He himself was coming overland with an immense army through the land of the Greeks, having taken from them the city of Varia [Berroea], and Philippopolis, Adrianople, and many other castles and towns. He sent his son in advance to attack Constantinople. Our people, persecuted by Kir Sahak, joined them; and they did much damage, inflamed by them with rancor.⁵

Then the inhabitants of Constantinople begged for mercy, giving 100 hundredweight⁶ of gold and

200 of silver, and ferrying across *gratis* the whole host, with all the treasures that they had taken from the Vlachs and the Bulgarians as they passed (136) through their lands.¹ Now the sons of Xliç-Aslan, not heeding their father, with the Turks of Uç battled against them, not abandoning them for 33 days until they [the Turks] were beaten and destroyed by them. They were so famished that for eighteen days they were without the produce of the soil, and as far as Konya 60,000 horses were eaten. Taking Konya² he [the German king] sent a messenger to Leo, but he did not reach him. When he left Konya, a letter arrived from Patriarch Grigor: "We came as far as the city of Sis,³ and we wait for you there." The king, gathering all his magnates, had the letter read; and they wept for joy. He wrote a reply: "For five⁴ years from now at your command I wish to develop the land of the Armenians, and then I shall go to my country. Behold, I have a crown and robes so that you may anoint as king of Armenia whomever you choose." And he said in the hearing of them all: "Until I see my lord and Saint Peter,⁵ Patriarch Grigor, I shall not say whatever is in my heart."

Arriving at Seleucia and finding a ford, the whole army crossed over. However, the king did not cross the ford but said he would sleep for a while on the side of the river. When his magnates had settled down, he rose up with two men and entered the river. The river swept one of them away; and the king, in helping him, not only did not save him but caused a loss to the Christians—he drowned in the river.⁶ They brought his body to Sis.⁷ Many of the troops took ship [back] to their own country. For the king had a young son, and he too had died after arriving at Akka.⁸

Now the king of the English and others in his

in the accusative case. Dulaurier's interpretation of the passage as "[Saladin asked for the release of] at least his servants," seems the most plausible.

²Michael, p. 351, dates this defeat of the Franks to 638. Kirakos, pp. 150–51, and Smbat, pp. 195–200, have long accounts of the treachery of the count of Tripoli and Saladin's success under the year 636 (A.D. 1187).

³Kirakos does not refer to the ransom; Smbat says that each inhabitant of Jerusalem had to pay one Egyptian *dahekan*, and then could take from his house whatever he could carry personally. Vardan is closer to Michael, p. 352, who refers to a ransom of ten *dahekans* per person.

⁴This story of the wife of the count of Tripoli is not attested in other Armenian sources.

⁵The approach of Frederick Barbarossa is mentioned by Smbat, p. 201, under the year 638; and by Michael, p. 354, under the year 641. But they do not give these details of his advance through Europe.

⁶Hundredweight: *kendinar*, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 356.

¹*Host . . . lands*. Dulaurier in his rendering interprets: ". . . whole host which they had recruited from among the Vlachs and Bulgarians . . ."

²The march overland is not described by other native Armenian sources. Michael, p. 354, gives a brief account of Greek treachery and of the massacre of Turks at Konya.

³*Sis*: *Msis* (i.e., Mopsuestia) in the text printed in *RHC*.

⁴*Five*: 27 in the text in *RHC*.

⁵Dulaurier interprets this as a reference to the church at Antioch; cf. p. 111 above. "Lord" here is *baron*, not *tēr* which is used of God.

⁶The death of Frederick is described more briefly by Smbat, p. 201, and Michael, p. 355.

⁷Michael, p. 355, says that the body was taken to Antioch and buried there.

⁸Smbat, p. 202, says that the emperor's son (i.e., Frederick of Swabia) died six months after arriving at Akka, and his troops scattered. According to Michael, p. 355, prince Leo cared for the Crusaders after the emperor's death until they went on to Akka.

company around those days had come and taken Cyprus. When they learned that the army besieging Akka was leaderless, they went to their assistance. Capturing the city, they slew 10,000 elite men from Salahadin's army.⁹ The latter, who had personally come to visit his [troops], (137) they pushed back with slaughter as far as Ascalon. Capturing many of the emirs, they took them beyond the sea; they recovered all that had been taken by the Turks—except for Jerusalem, of which they said: "Until the day of his visitation comes."¹

81. In those same times one of Salahadin's generals attacked Manazkert. Although he besieged it, he was unable to accomplish anything, for a freak snow fell on them in the middle of summer. So he turned back, and was slain on the way. Bēgdemur, grateful to the Christians,² from then on began to honor and love the Christians.

Around those times Mxit'ar, the revered priest of the cathedral,³ translated the causes of the darkening of the sun and moon from [the book of] a certain Persian Oči, which he said he had translated from Greek into Persian and that the Greeks possessed from the prophecy of Enoch. He said that the sun never gets dark by nature, but that the cause thereof comes from the moon. When the sun and moon happen to be in the same sign of the zodiac, and it is the time of the birth of the moon, then thick clouds called *rast* or *zanap*⁴ occur there; if these are not close, it is not the occasion for darkening, although it might be the time of the birth of the moon and they might be in the same zodiac. But if they are close, then the sun becomes dark. If they are totally opposite each other, the whole becomes dark; but if partly, it becomes obscured obliquely. And what is visible to us is the cover of the moon, and not the vessel of the sun—as happened at the great eclipse of 625.⁵ But the

darkening of the moon occurs when it is distant from the sun by six signs of the zodiac, and the *zanap* and *rast* are in the same zodiac; the dark clouds do not permit it to receive light from the sun, and the thick shadow of the earth falls around the moon, so the moon is eclipsed. If they are equal and mutually balanced, the whole is eclipsed; but if oblique, the surviving part is illuminated by the sun. (138) This he translated into our [language], elaborated with circular [diagrams].

82. In the days of those times lived the glorious princes Zak'arē and Ivanē, sons of Sargis, son of Varham, son of Zak'arē, son of Sargis, of Kurdish origin.¹ Emigrating to the kings of Joroget, who were of the Bagratuni family, they believed in Christ and gained respect. He gave them Xošorni as a dwelling place. And since they were very courageous, they increased daily in rank and honor. In the days of T'amar they became even more glorious, and she gave them Lori. By their own valor they expelled the Turks from all fortresses and provinces in a short time. For in 640 they took the land of Širak; in 645 they took Anberd; in 648 they took Ani; in 650 they took Bjni; in 652 they took Dvin; in 655 they took the royal [city] Kars, then Getabakk' and Č'arek'.² Their fame spread over the whole country. But Ivanē, deceived by queen T'amar, weakened in the faith.³ Things went badly for him; he was captured and imprisoned in Xlat'. By the repute of his brother's valor he was freed, after giving his daughter in marriage to Mēlik' Ašraf, the lord of Xlat'.⁴

However, Zak'arē, Ivanē's brother, remained in his own faith. Nonetheless, he wished to celebrate the feasts of the Mother of God and of the Cross on a weekday, not to break the vigils, that monks should not eat meat, to offer the liturgy for the living, to celebrate the liturgy in the open under an awning, with lectors and deacons. Therefore he sent to Leo,⁵ who at that time had been anointed king by the Franks and the Greeks, (139) when

⁹Smbat, p. 202, gives a long account of the siege of Akka. There is a briefer account in Michael, p. 355.

¹Micah 7:4.

²The implication is that the Christians had helped defend the city.

³I.e., Mxit'ar Anec'i, to whom Vardan refers by name on pp. 92, 94. See above, pp. 62 ff, for Vardan's knowledge of material on Islam only found earlier in Mxit'ar.

⁴Vardan interprets Oči as a personal name. Brosset, *Analyse*, p. 6, notes that it is the Persian *zič*, i.e., an astronomical almanac or tables. (See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* [London, 1892], p. 633, "astronomical tables.") *Rast* is the Arabic *ras*, "head"; *zanap* is *danab*, "tail."

⁵There was a total eclipse of the sun on April 11, 1176 (625 of the Armenian era); see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 466.

¹For the rise of Zak'arē and Ivanē, see Kirakos, pp. 162–64. There is a discussion of all the sources in Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 102–3. M.A., p. 303, refers to T'amar honoring the two princes.

²M.A., p. 304, has a brief reference to the conquests of Zak'arē and Ivanē under the year 640 (A.D. 1191).

³As Kirakos, p. 166. I.e., he became a Chalcedonian.

⁴Kirakos, p. 165. (On p. 228, Kirakos names Ivanē's daughter T'amt'a.)

⁵Kirakos, pp. 165 ff, discusses the theological problems raised by Zak'arē and the query to Leo.

they sent him crowns in 646.¹ He victoriously held away and imposed tribute and a yoke on all the surrounding nations. But they delayed their response, because after lord Grigor had departed to the Lord, Grigoris, called “the young (*tlay*),” held the [patriarchal] throne.² Leo had captured and imprisoned him after one year. He intended to escape from captivity in the castle by descending with a rope, but was killed when the rope was cut.³ Then Apirat held the throne for five years,⁴ and then lord Yovhannēs, who rebelled against Leo. Vexed by this, King Leo appointed lord Dawit^c Catholicos in Ark^cakatin.⁵ From this schism they were with difficulty reconciled; but they all agreed on a response—that Zak^carē should do what he desired. “For it is not, they said, contrary to scripture,⁶ and it is our ancestral rule, and has been perverted by the ruin of the church.” In the East he convened a council of competent men once and twice, in Lori and in Ani;⁷ but it was not accepted. “Lest, they said, we eventually be forced to adhere to the sect of the Greeks and Georgians.”⁸

Now in the days of the reign of T^camar, queen of Georgia, the Christians waxed strong, although she dismissed her Russian husband and took the Ossete Soslan, who filled Georgia with captivity and pillage from the Turks. By him she bore an only child and named him Laša. She held the crown for 23 years and then died. To the throne succeeded Laša, who was called Gēorg by the army, in 657.⁹

83. In 659 locusts ruined many provinces. At the same time the great Zak^carē ravaged the land

of Persia as far as the city of Artawil, exacting vengeance from them for the blood of the Christians.¹⁰ (140) Accordingly, he ordered their house of prayer to be burned when it was full of men, as a sacrifice to the princes who [had been killed] in the churches of Naxčavan; and readers of the Quran and mullas¹ [were killed as a sacrifice] for the priests who had been sacrificed in Baguan, by whose blood the wall of the church had been colored.² In that attack he was martyred to the Lord, orthodox and pure of faith. He was buried in the holy monastery of Sanahin in 661, leaving a single child of five years called Šahanšah—named in honor of the principality of Ani³—whom Xošak^c, the spouse of Ivanē, converted to the sect of Chalcedon.⁴

One year later died the holy and wonderful *vardapet* Mxit^car of Ganjak, nicknamed Goš.⁵ He was buried in his own building at Getik, which he had constructed on the orders of Ivanē, the nephew of the great prince K^curd, at whose command he had come to the land of Kayean to what is called Old Getik. For at that time he possessed Kayean as a patrimony from Hasan of Kayean, the builder of the fortress.

In 663 the lord of Hat^cerk^c gave it to Ivanē, because Vaht^cang, its rightful lord, and his sons had died prematurely. The other Vaht^cang, of Sakreank^c, Ivanē's son-in-law, the lord of Inner Xa^cen, left two sons: Hasan, called Jalaldawla by endearment, and Zak^carē, also called Nasradawla. Ivanē took care of them with their mother Xorišah. She later went to reside in Jerusalem and died in the Lord, much praised for her great asceticism.⁶ The great Ivanē, renowned for his valor,

¹Michael, p. 357, notes that Leo was recognized as king by the Greek and Frankish kings. Smbat, p. 208, dates the coronation of Leo to 647 (A.D. 1198) “in obedience to the church of Rome and the emperor of the Germans,” with no reference to the Greeks.

²Vardan here follows Kirakos, p. 147, in calling Grigor V *Tlay*, “the young,” rather than Grigor IV. The latter died in 1193; Grigor V *K^caravēž* (“who fell headlong”) was Catholicos for only one year. Cf. above p. 129 note 6.

³Kirakos, p. 148, offers divergent views as to whether Grigor fell or was thrown. Smbat, p. 206, dates his death to 643 (A.D. 1194).

⁴Five: 7 years in Kirakos, p. 148; 9 in Smbat, p. 213.

⁵For the schism see Kirakos, pp. 149, 168; Smbat, p. 215.

⁶“They found his request in accordance with apostolic canons,” according to Kirakos, p. 169.

⁷Kirakos, pp. 171, 174; cf. also M.A., p. 304.

⁸Kirakos, p. 177, refers only to Georgians.

⁹Kirakos has several references to Laša, son of Soslan and T^camar; but he does not refer to Soslan's exploits. For Laša as “called Gēorg,” cf. Kirakos, p. 186. Vardan, p. 132 above, dates T^camar's succession to 633 (A.D. 1184). In fact she reigned for 28 years, until A.D. 1212.

¹⁰Kirakos, p. 185, says that Zak^carē and Ivanē captured Artabil. See Minorsy, *Studies*, p. 103, for this revenge for a Muslim attack on Ani.

¹*Readers of the Quran and mullas: Kurayk^c, mutrik^c.* In his description of the attack, Kirakos, p. 185, refers to the *mutrik^c*, “who are summoners to prayer (*ataw^cakoc^ck^c*).” For the term see above, p. 127 note 4. *Kuray* is common in Armenian; see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 269.

²The parallels with Naxčavan and Baguan are made more explicit in Kirakos, p. 186. For the Armenians burned in the church at Naxčavan, see above, p. 72. Kirakos, p. 61, had referred to the blood of the slain covering the altar and font of the shrine of Sargis at *Dvin*. Vardan, p. 56 above, notes that Yazd was martyred at Baguan. Y.D., p. 109, notes that the *ostikan* Ezit murdered more than forty monks at Baguan. So the parallel with Baguan seems to be a composite memory.

³As Kirakos, pp. 186–87.

⁴Kirakos has several references to Xošak^c, but none to this conversion.

⁵For Mxit^car Goš (i.e., “beardless”), see Kirakos, pp. 208, 221.

⁶Xorišah is also mentioned in colophons; see Ačāryan, *Dict. of Names*, s.v.

took Č'arek' and all its environs. Then, with the assistance of his relative Vahram, son of Zak'arē, they took Šamk'or.

In 668 he took Orotn and the castles nearby—though not all of them. (141) For when the Haykazunk¹ occupied it, there were 43 famous fortresses, and 1,400 villages, and forty-eight monasteries. The beginning of their destruction took place in 552, caused by a young butler (*matruak*) of the sultan Mēlik'-šah. When the Haykazn ruler came to submit to the sultan, he pressed much wine upon him until he promised to give him his daughter in marriage. Knotting his girdle, he showed it to the sultan according to their custom. After some days had passed, he asked for what had been promised. When he pressed him with insults, he became jealous. Taking all his troops he ravaged the land until it was completely ruined and destroyed.² Over it the powerful Ivanē ruled later on.

84. At that same date our crowned [king] Levon died in Christ.³ His only daughter, Ešisabet' by name, who was called Zabel in the French tongue, took the crown. She married P'īlip, son of the lord of Antioch, for two years. But since our Armenian nation was hateful to him and he paid greater respect to his fellow-Frenchmen, he reneged on his sworn oath to be true and friendly to the Armenians. Therefore he sent the valuable crown and royal [accoutrements]⁴ to his father's house. Unable to endure this, the princes put him in prison until he died there. They gave the young woman [in marriage] to Het'um, son of Kostand, a magnanimous and intelligent youth, who was a personable, strong, and handsome young man.⁵ They were crowned by Patriarch Kostand, who had inherited the holy see after the death of lord Yo-hanēs in 669—not by blood or title or mammon, (142) but called by the grace of the Spirit and acknowledged by all tongues.¹

¹Haykazunk': descendants of Hayk, i.e., the native princes of Siunik'.

²The episode is narrated in greater detail by Step'anos Orbelean: the ruler was Senek'erim, the butler Čort'man, the place Isfahan; Čort'man did not take revenge "a few days later," but after he had become prince.

³For the death of King Levon in 668 (A.D. 1219), see Kirakos, p. 187, Smbat, p. 223.

⁴Royal [accoutrements]: *palatn*. Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 370, notes that this usually refers to the palace itself.

⁵The two marriages of Zabel are described by Kirakos, pp. 188–89 (with verbal parallels with Vardan), and more briefly by Smbat, p. 225. Michael, pp. 359–61, also describes Philip's disdain for Armenians, and praises Het'um's intelligence.

¹Vardan stresses that simony and murder played no role be-

One year before his consecration there was a fearful earthquake, and the elegantly decorated church at Mšakavank' collapsed, on the 11th of January at lunch time;² four officiants were killed in the great loss of life. During the whole night there was visible to every one a star in the sky in the shape of a lance.³ The two signs indicated the change from a peaceful world to the turbulence of enemies armed with lances. As indeed took place when the year 669 arrived.⁴ A foreign-looking and alien-speaking army moved from the land of Č'in and Mač'in.⁵ Called Mu'al and T'at'ar, they arrived in the territory of Gugarac'ik', entering the plain from the regions of Aġuank', about 20,000 strong. They slaughtered every living thing they found, and turned back in haste. Pursuing them with all his force, Laša came up with them by the river Kotman. But defeated by them, he escaped in flight with Ivanē.⁶ Some prince cut the sinew of the latter's horse,⁷ but he got free from him. However, Vahram the lord of the land, with great valor opposed them with much slaughter, as far as Gardman, unaware of the flight of the others.

In 671 these same people intended to return.⁸ But since their scouts found the Armenians and Georgians prepared and mustered, when they took back the news they did not dare to invade, but returned whence they had come. That same year a large army composed of Huns, whom they call Kipchak (*Xwc'at*), came to Ganjak and united with them. But when our people in imprudent confidence came upon them, they were put to flight. (143) Many fell to the sword, and some of the eminent nobles, captured alive, were imprisoned, in-

cause there had been a divisive election between Constantine Barjberdc'i and Grigor Skewrac'i. The former was supported by baron Constantine of Lambron, father of Het'um, the bailiff (*payl*) of Armenia, "whom God always heeded," as Smbat says, p. 224. Kirakos, pp. 190–91, praises the new Catholicos without mentioning this rivalry.

²Lunch time: *žam časoy*, which could refer to the mid-day service of hours.

³Cf. M.A., p. 304.

⁴For the arrival of the Mongols in 669 (A.D. 1221), see Kirakos, pp. 201 ff. Grigor of Akanc', ch. 3, dates this first attack to 663 (A.D. 1214).

⁵Č'in and Mač'in. The phrase is not found in other historians of the period, but see Vardan's *Geography*, p. 53. Cf. the expression Kuran-Makuran in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, Asia, §38.

⁶Kirakos, p. 203; cf. M.A., p. 304.

⁷Grigor of Akanc', p. 293, names the prince Hamidawla.

⁸Kirakos, p. 204, says "after some time had passed"; Grigor, p. 295, says "three years later." M.A., p. 305, gives the date 670. *These same people: noynk'*. Brosset, *Additions*, p. 305, renders "les noins"—i.e., *noynk'*. For the term *Noyin* applied to the leading Mongols, see below, p. 144.

cluding prince Grigor known as the son of Xatbak, and his nephew the brave and valiant champion named Papak¹. These were avenged the next year by our army, which exterminated the greater part of the Kipchaks when they reached the territory of Vardanašat.²

85. When our era reached the date 674 the two sons of Xorazm-šah, defeated and hard pressed by the T^cat^cars, came with 200,000 people—as they say—through the land of Adlparakan to the capital [*ostan*] of Armenia.³ They took it and filled the plain with wide-spreading tents. Our men attacked them but were defeated; not a few perished near the small town of Garⁿi, the larger part by falling down into the deep ravines, because of God's wrath at Ivanē over the new and alien evils that his wife had done. For on the death of a priest called Parkešt, she had had him dragged from the grave and burned, and a dog sacrificed on that spot, because of⁴ the frequent coming and going of pilgrims. God had honored [the site] by the descent of a light over it. This was visible to the fortified city of B^jni, where they laid the foundation of a church. She had heeded the words of some slanderer, whom the Lord struck by lightning the night of the same day on which they experienced such happenings.⁵

Now the sultan, in his victorious hauteur becoming reckless, trampled on many places and returned to Tabriz. A year later he marched through the plain of Gag to Tiflis;⁶ (144) causing much slaughter, he turned against Xlat^c.¹ Capturing it and gaining strength, he marched to Rum (*Horomk^c*) against the sultan Aladin and Mēlik^c-Ašraf. But his army suffered a great defeat, and he fled with a few men to Mu^lan, to the plain that caters for all the needs of man and beast. Suddenly the

T^cat^cars, who had previously expelled him from his own country, attacked and turned him back in flight toward Amida. He was killed in his flight, I am not sure how—either by the sword of the T^cat^cars, or, as they say, by one of his own people whose relative he had summarily put to death and who was angered at this, or because he was marching them around without respite. In this way vengeance for the blood of innocent persons was taken.²

The people called T^cat^car, who had earlier come with a few men in 669, and had wanted to return in 671 but did not have the confidence, added to their own forces a huge multitude with a chief called Č^carma^lan as general.³ He came to the capital Ganjak in 674, and after besieging it for a few days captured it. They slaughtered the inhabitants mercilessly, save for the youths and women who pleased them.⁴ Encouraged by this, they entered the kingdom of Georgia, dividing up the famous places in the provinces and the fortified castles among the greatest princes,⁵ whom they called *Noyin*.⁶ These went each to his allotted castle in the provinces, which were immediately delivered into their hands, for the punishment of our sins. Č^cat^lada Noyin took the city of Lo^ri and the provinces in that region.⁷ Dolada Noyin [received] the castle of Kayean, from which they expelled Awag, the lord of that territory.⁸ The great Č^corma^lan [received] Ani and Kars and the environs.⁹ Łata^la Noyin [received] the regions of Č^carek^c, Getabakk^c, and Vardanašat.¹⁰ In the division, Molar Noyin received the castles of the provinces of the great prince Vahram; but first he took Šamk^cor by a ruse. (145) Vahram with his son A^lbu^lay fled from place to place, until he realized that they spared those who submitted and willingly capitulated. Then he came and received the castles and the

¹For this defeat (because “they trusted in the number of their troops and not in God who gives victory”), see Kirakos, pp. 204–5.

²Kirakos, pp. 206–7, says that Ivanē took revenge “after a few days,” and does not refer to Vardanašat.

³The reference is to Ganjak. For this invasion and the defeat at Garⁿi, see Kirakos, pp. 224–25. But he says the enemy were “numberless.” M.A., p. 305, refers to this briefly, with no mention of the size of the army.

⁴Because of: *vasn*. Dulaurier, “Les Mongols,” renders “in mockery of.”

⁵This tale of Parkešt and Ivanē's wife is not found in other sources of the period. For a light, cf. p. 153 below.

⁶Kirakos, p. 226, implies that the sultan's advance on Tiflis followed immediately after his victory at Garⁿi.

¹Kirakos, p. 228. He adds that the lord of Xlat^c, Ašraf-sultan, had married the daughter of Ivanē, named T^camt^ca; cf. above, p. 138 note 4.

²See Kirakos, pp. 229–30, for these events. He suggests that the sultan was either killed in his flight by someone who recognized him, or by someone whose relative he had put to death.

³See Kirakos, p. 233.

⁴For the capture of Ganjak, see Kirakos, pp. 235–37. Vardan often uses T^cat^car in the singular for the Mongols, sometimes with a singular verb, sometimes with a plural verb, just as T^curk^c is often used for T^curk^ck.

⁵For the attack on Georgia and the division of the land with its towns and castles, see Kirakos, pp. 237–38.

⁶For *Noyin*, Mongolian *noyan*, “lord, noble,” see F. W. Cleaves, “The Mongolian Names and Terms in the *History of the Nation of the Archers*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949), 405, and Ačaiyan, *Etym. Dict.*, s.v.

⁷Kirakos, p. 253.

⁸Kirakos, pp. 254–57.

⁹Kirakos, pp. 258–62.

¹⁰Kirakos, p. 243; but he does not refer to Vardanašat.

province taken by them which had been their [Vahram's] own patrimonial property.¹

All this they had taken: Tawuš, Kacarēt, Tērunakan, Ergevank, Macnaber, which belonged to Asxart'an of the Kiwrikeank, Nor Berd, which belonged to Vasak of royal descent, K'avazin, an impregnable fortress, the renowned castle of Gag, and the province settled by King Gagik—where are situated the famous and holy monastery [of] the Cross and the church dedicated to Saint Sargis the general, blessed by the holy *vardapet* Mesrop, the interpreter (*t'argmanič*) of Armenia,² which lies at the head of Gag and looks out over the extensive and spreading plain—and other fortresses and villages and estates. All were given into their hands in a short time, without labor or effort, so that we might know that it is the hand of the Lord that has given our land as provider for foreigners before our own eyes.³

86. The sublime, most renowned, and meritorious *vardapet* called Vanakan⁴ made the beginning of his holy practices in a cave, where he was afflicted by lack of necessities, especially of water. (146) There he ensconced himself with his own disciples and many other refugees who had sought sanctuary with him. For these he gave himself, like Christ going captive in order to free them. For some time he went among the camps of that barbarous nation, then was sold to the Christians in the castle of Gag. They redeemed him—not in Jewish fashion for an opprobrious death, but like the Lord for glorious freedom—at 50 *dahekans*.¹ More than the Lord! So parsimonious was the seller of the Lord that he had a cheap and low price of which he himself was worthy.

After this he lived for fifteen years to the glory of God and of benefit to many, then died in Christ after multifarious ascetic practices in the tents of the illuminators of the land, in 700, on the 18th of March and the 10th of Areg by the old equivalence, in Lent on Saturday, on the memorial festi-

val of Ovrend and his brothers—and according to us of Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem,² celebrating the festival of the supernal Jerusalem. Here he celebrated and cajoled his offspring, the sons of light, for the glory of his groom, the immortal king Jesus and his Father and the holy Spirit; he left here a hundredfold reputé of valor among his pupils and in the treasure books of the church, for which he provided by the grace of God and through his clear and fertile mind.

87. Now from the date 685 of the Armenian era down to 714³—in which we [now] are—our glorious father the *vardapet* Vanakan and our brother the *vardapet* Kirakos, [pupil] of the same father, have described in detail what the nation of the archers did throughout the countries and principalities on this side of the great sea, throughout Persia and Aḡuank, Armenia and Georgia, and the land called “of the Romans,” where dwelt Armenians and Syrians, Greeks, Tačiks, and Turkmen.⁴ (147) This we did not presume to repeat a third time or to treat at length; but we have merely set out in a summary fashion the dates of the important events and deeds in order to complete our own undertaking, beginning with a fuller chronology, but leaving it incomplete out of respect for those honorable writers whom we mentioned above. Yet the account and material cannot expose or record the great multitude of our sins, transgressions, and wickedness, for which may we not [endure] the vengeance of the just tribunal of God. Even if there were some means of reckoning retributions, it would not suffice for the number of our evils—which the profound, fathomless, infinite mercy of God has conquered and always does vanquish. To whom [be] grace and power, glory and honor, blessing and praise, for eternity without number or limit, from all and individual creatures of his, spiritual and tangible, by whom may

¹ Kirakos, pp. 241–43.

² Kirakos, pp. 251–52.

³ Cf. Ps. 73:14 (not an exact quotation).

⁴ Grigor of Akanc, ch. 5, gives a brief description of Vanakan. Kirakos, who like Vardan was a pupil of Vanakan, gives the most information. See p. 178, his *History*; p. 218, his life; pp. 243–52, his captivity and redemption; pp. 326, 338, some of his writings; pp. 344, 348, his death. See in general the study by H. Oskean, *Yovhannēs Vanakan* (Vienna, 1922).

¹ Kirakos, p. 252, gives the ransom as 80 *dahekans*; he does not add the comparison with Judas and the 30 pieces of silver (as Matt. 26:15).

² The same dates and festivals are given by Kirakos, pp. 347–48.

³ The year 714 of the Armenian era began on January 14, 1265. See the Introduction for the date of composition of this *Historical Compilation*.

⁴ Vanakan's *History* is lost; Kirakos refers to it, p. 178. Kirakos' own *History* ends in 714 (A.D. 1265, as above), two years before the last date in Vardan; see p. 163 below. *Turkmen: T'urk'mank'*. Kirakos, p. 224, refers to Persians, Tačiks, and Turks (*T'urk'k'*), coming with the sultan Jalaladin to attack Armenia; see above, p. 143. The earliest reference to Turkmen in Armenian is in a colophon dated to A.D. 1118; see G. Yovsep'eanc', *Yiṣatakarank' Jeragrac'* (Antelias, Lebanon, 1951), col. 330. There are later references in the Continuator to Matthew, Gregory the Priest.

"Amen" be said for perpetual, boundless, and endless eternity.¹

88. Now in 691 of the Armenian era Bač'aw Nuin succeeded to the principality of Č'armañan. Capturing the city of Karin, he removed the famous rich man and fearer of the Lord, Umek, and his relatives, the sons of baron Yohannēs—Step'annos and his five brothers.² And in 692 [he captured] all the land called "of the Romans" and the famous cities: first Caesarea, then Sebaste, which they spared slaughter because they had submitted quickly, then Erzinjan (*Eznka*), whose inhabitants they mercilessly slew or took captive because they had offered resistance.³ And [he captured] the other lands and provinces that were especially inhabited by the suffering race of Armenians. For it was the date 692 (*o t b*), which spells "woe" (*o t b*),⁴ and accordingly sufferings were inflicted worthy of woe and tears, (148) not only on humans but also on animals, mountains, and plains, which were watered with blood and tears. This same woe was repeated in 698. For Bač'u and the other nobles suspected the rebellious arrogance of the king and princes of Georgia. Subduing King Dawit' and the other magnates, they imprisoned them and sentenced them to death. But by supernal providence they delivered them from death.¹ However, they slaughtered a countless number, took captive villages and estates, and maltreated women in Armenia, and even more so in Georgia.²

In 699 Awag, the son of Ivanē, died and was buried at Pñjahank' with his father, a liberal man, a warrior, and given to prayer.³

89. In 700 a question was provoked by the great Pope of Rome. He wrote to all the nations of the Christians that it was necessary to confess the all-holy Spirit, God, as proceeding from the Father

and the Son.⁴ This was not pleasing to the Syrians, Greeks, and Georgians, but it was so to the Armenians,⁵ who scrutinized the tradition of the first saints through the *vardapet* Vanakan, close to God. They found it to be consonant with the famous glorious men Athanasius, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Illuminator, and other saints.⁶

90. In 701 locusts attacked Upper Armenia and caused damage to many provinces.⁷

In 703 Manku-ñan ordered a census of the lands subject to his control through the famous man named Arlōn; and he had a head tax imposed on men, but not on women, the very aged, or young children.⁸

(149) In 703 the pious king of the Armenians, Het'um, went to Bat'aw, the great king of the North, a relative of Č'angez-ñan, and then on to Manku-ñan. He was honored in accordance with his dignity, and returned a year later in peace to his own throne.¹

In 704 Hulawu, the brother of Manku-ñan, attacked Persia, Asorestan, Armenia, Georgia, and Añuank' with an innumerable army and overwhelming power. He ordered the first troops that arrived to go with all their equipment to the land of the Romans. Terrified of him, they left the upper lands and were forced to move on.² They occupied all of Anatolia as far as the sea, ruling over the lands which [had been] under the control of the sultans of what is called "of the Romans."³

Then the great Hulawu in that same year of his

⁴For these discussions on the Spirit, see Kirakos, pp. 329–38.

⁵Kirakos makes it clear that the Armenians accepted the Roman position. (Brosset's rendering, *Additions*, p. 308, is wrong.)

⁶See Kirakos, pp. 338–44, for Vanakan's confession of faith, where these theologians and many others are cited.

⁷Kirakos, p. 359; Grigor of Akanc', ch. 10; M.A., p. 306.

⁸Kirakos, pp. 361–62, says that women were exempt; but those who could not pay had their children taken away from them. Grigor of Akanc', ch. 10, also expatiates on the severity of the merciless exactions.

¹Kirakos, pp. 364–72, gives a long description of Het'um's journey. See the translation and commentary in J. Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963), 199–214; 9 (1964), 175–88. There are brief accounts in Grigor of Akanc', ch. 10, and Smbat, p. 229, who dates it to 702. M.A., p. 306, notes that Het'um was accompanied by his brother Smbat (author of the *Chronicle* just mentioned). Vardan refers to Het'um and other rulers at the court of the Il-khans, below, p. 156.

²*Were forced to move on: gnac'in i harkē.* Brosset, *Additions*, p. 309, renders: "d'où l'on vint se soumettre à lui." But Kirakos (see next note) makes it clear that the Mongol troops were terrified of Hulagu and unwillingly moved on "into the land of the Romans."

³For this paragraph see Kirakos, pp. 374–75.

¹The editor of the Venice 1862 edition notes that his best MS ends here, but the oldest manuscript continues. See the Introduction for the manuscripts of Vardan's *History*.

²See Kirakos, pp. 278–80, for the fall of Karin in 691. On p. 363 Kirakos refers to Umek, Yovhannēs, Step'annos, and his brothers, who survived the destruction of Karin.

³See Kirakos, p. 283, for the capture of Caesarea, Sebaste, and Erzinjan in 692. But he does not elaborate on *o t b*, p. 284.

⁴This interpretation is not in Kirakos. For further such numerical interpretations, see below, p. 153 at note 5.

¹Kirakos, pp. 315–16, distinguishes between the Dawit', son of Georg Laša, and Dawit' son of Rusudan.

²For the destruction in Georgia, see Kirakos, pp. 318–21, there dated to 698 (A.D. 1249).

³See Kirakos, p. 321.

arrival in 704 went to the country of Mlhetk^c to [the place] called Alamud, which he captured and whose commander he expelled. For before his arrival their army had besieged it and had been hard pressed; their general was called Isawur Nuin.⁴ On his return he summoned Dawit^c, king of Georgia, and the magnates of that country; he treated them all with friendship and respect, especially the Christians. For his senior wife, called Tołuz Xat'un, was a Christian of the Syrian persuasion which are called Nestorians.⁵ But she was unaware of their heresy, and with sincere love honored all the Christian race and asked for [their] prayers, as did the Ēl-łan himself, named Hulawu. They took around with them a linen tent in the form of a church; at the sound of the clapper (*žamahar*) the priests and deacons regularly offered the set prayers and liturgies;⁶ and there was open schooling and instruction for the young. (150) There sojourned clerics from every region and of every Christian tongue, who came to seek peace; which indeed they found, and then returned with joy and gifts.

In 705 Bat'u, the great governor of the North, died. In the same year his son Sardax was poisoned by his own brothers out of envy. For power had been entrusted to him by his father and increased by Manku-łan. His death caused great mourning for the Christians, since he was a perfect Christian and had been the cause of salvation for many, bringing to the faith members of his own and of foreign [nations].¹

91. In 707 the valiant Hulawu captured Baghdad—517 years after its construction by ĵap'r the Ismaelite, in 194 of the Armenian era²—on the river Tigris, a seven³-days' journey from old Babylon, as they say. Hulawu slew with his own hands the caliph, whose name was Must'asr;⁴ and the Christians who lived there were saved by the good-

⁴See Kirakos, p. 376; though he does not name Isawur. M.A., p. 306, has a brief reference to the capture of Alamud. The *Mlhetk^c* are the Arabic *Mulhid*, a term applied to the Isma'ilis of Alamut; see Boyle, 1963, p. 212 note 99. Cf. above, p. 97 at note 1.

⁵For Tołuz Xan and the Nestorians, see Kirakos, p. 382.

⁶Grigor of Akanc^c, ch. 10, also refers to the tent used as a church by Hulagu's wife, and the clapper (*žamahar*, as p. 119 at note 3) used by the Armenian and Syrian priests.

¹See Kirakos, pp. 372–73. M.A., p. 306, refers to the death of Bat'u and the succession of Sardax.

²As Kirakos, p. 383.

³*Seven*: five in Kirakos.

⁴Kirakos gives a long description of the fall of Baghdad and the death of Must'asar, pp. 377–84. M.A., p. 306, has only a brief reference.

will and intercession of the great Queen Tołuz.⁵ The caliph is said to be a descendant⁶ of the clan of Mahmet, who appeared in the year 607 of the Armenian era and whose successors lasted until the year 707.

When the Ēl-łan Hulawu returned from the destruction of Baghdad, in that same year Mup'arkin, the city of Martyrs,⁸ was besieged for two years. Since the renowned sultan who [resided] there had opposed Hulawu's son Ismuddin, he blockaded the city and fought with him more especially as he was from the race of the Edleank^c.⁹ He became a cause of anger to God; for during the siege they ate both pure and impure animals, and then the poor, then their offspring, and each other as far as they were able.¹⁰ (151) Eventually the senior and chief priest there, forced to act like a beast by the raging fury of gluttony, ate of his own [kin]. He wrote confessions on paper and hoped we would see the writing and he would find mercy from the merciful nature of the Creator. He gave himself over to lamentation and weeping with ceaseless groaning and bewailing in regret, until his spirit fainted away. We have seen his confession written according to his hope, and we expect he will find mercy from Him who knows and has fashioned our nature, who by [his own] death has made us equally strong. May the compassionate Father, [with] profound mercy and bottomless love, through the same will and ability have mercy on him and spare him through the mystery of the holy church—and also all those who in repentance have taken and will take refuge in the compassion of Christ our God, and you who on encountering this will contemplate it sincerely, saying "Amen."¹

92. In 708 Hulawu went to the land of Mesopotamia and captured those cities and provinces, as the detailed writers described.² The patriarch of Armenia, the Catholicos, came to him, blessed him and was befriended by him.³ When he took all the

⁵As Kirakos, p. 382.

⁶*Descendant*: *yetammac^c*, as Kirakos, p. 378.

⁷Vardan, p. 64 above, had referred to Muhammad becoming famous in the year 65.

⁸I.e., Martyropolis. Kirakos, pp. 384–87, describes the siege.

⁹*Edleank^c*. These are described by Kirakos, p. 151, as descendants of Salahadin, such as Mēlik Ašraf and others.

¹⁰As Kirakos, pp. 385–86. One *litr* of human flesh sold for 70 *dahekans*.

¹The story of the priest at Martyropolis is not in Kirakos. For cannibalism in time of famine, cf. Y.D., p. 263.

²See Kirakos, pp. 387–89. The plural includes Vanakan; see p. 146. For "detailed," cf. above, p. 128 note 6.

³Kirakos does not here refer to Constantine I, Catholicos 1221–67.

country of Šam,⁴ there was also with him our crowned [king] Het'um, who freed from death the Christians, ecclesiastics and laymen, in every place.⁵ May the Lord recompense him with a complete forgiveness of sins and with long lives from sons to sons, according to his will.

Hulawu returned to winter quarters in the plain of Mułan, and to summer lodgings in the province called Dařin, or, according to others, Daran-dašt. For there are there in the rocks caves and precipices around the mountains which he liked; and he constructed buildings there at his pleasure. He also intended to build a city, for which reason the land was vexed, man and beast, at bringing massive logs from a distance.⁶

(152) In 709 the city of Martyrs was taken after much misery and damage, not only for the besieged but also for the besieging T'at'ar soldiers and the Christians with them. They battled each other within and without; and there the handsome youth Sewada Xač'enec'i, son of the great prince Grigor, was killed fighting valiantly. He was crowned with those who keep the faith and fear of God and of the Il-khan; to him may a share be granted by the blood of the martyrs of Christ, those who keep his faith and fear. Amen.¹

In the same year the army which the Il-khan Hulawu had left to guard the land of Šam, about 20,000 men under the great general called K'it'buła, a Christian by religion, was slaughtered in a battle against the sultan of Egypt at the foot of Mount Tabor.² He had a numberless multitude, and since the forces of [K'it'-] Buła were few, they were slaughtered or taken captive. But some scattered and hid and escaped. They came to the king of Armenia, from whom they found great compassion; [he provided] clothing, horses, and money, so they returned gratefully to their lord, T'at'ars and Christians.³ Thereby the name of Christ was

greatly glorified for King Het'um at home and abroad.

93. In 700⁴ the prince of princes, the noble ruler Jalal, with cruel torments shared in the death of Christ and his martyrs at the hands of the calumniating Tačiks, who falsely accused and delivered him to Artun. They took him to Xazvin in Tačkastan, where one night they tore him limb from limb and killed him, having merely his Christianity as cause; for he had passed his years until old age in fasting and prayer, in works of mercy and vigils on Sundays. Therefore God honored him with a light from on high that descended over his dismembered limbs, crowning and attesting his innocent martyr's death. (153) When his murderers saw this, in terror they threw him into a dry well. Eventually his own people came, took him away and buried him in his own monastery called Ganjasar, their patrimonial site of burial. Those who bore him saw the same rays of light.¹

In that same year of the Armenian era 700² they murdered at the court of the Il-khan Hulawu the Georgian general Zak'arē, son of Šahanšah, in the flower of his youth, at a time when he was prospering and becoming famous and known to everyone. Indeed, they falsely accused him of holding back the due tax at the time when he himself went to the court. The grievous news of his death caused tearful mourning to all the house of Georgia with their Armenian relatives. And how much more were his parents who begat him afflicted with cruel anguish and bodily-tormenting grief. For that reason in those same days and [still] in the same black mourning his heartbroken father died.³ He was named Šahanšah as lord of the capital city Ani, which was once the main royal seat of the Bagratid kings and of various other lands; the name of the lord of Ani was called Šahanšah as "king of kings."⁴

94. These significant numbers—700, which is perfect rest, and 10, [which is] holy⁵—may they

⁴Šam: Syria. Kirakos refers to Dmišk (Damascus) and other cities. The form *Dmišk* had earlier been used by T'f.A. to gloss Damascus; and his Continuator, p. 275, had used the Arabic phrase "land of Šam."

⁵See Smbat, p. 235, for Het'um with Hulagu in 709 at the siege of Aleppo.

⁶See Kirakos, pp. 396–97, for Mułan, dašt Dařnoy, and the logs for Hulagu's city. Grigor of Akanc', ch. 12, refers to Dařn dašt.

¹See p. 150 for the siege. Sewada is not mentioned by other sources.

²The battle of Ain Jalut is described by Kirakos, p. 389 (on the plain of Tabor), and at length by Smbat, p. 236. There are briefer references in Grigor of Akanc', ch. 13, and M.A., p. 307.

³Other Armenian sources do not describe Het'um's aid to the fugitives.

⁴700. So the text; sic! Read 710; see p. 153 at note 5 below.

¹For the martyrdom of Jalal at Łazvin in 710 of the Armenian era (A.D. 1261), the appearance of a light from above, the burial of his body at Ganjasar, see Kirakos, pp. 390–92. For the light, cf. above, p. 143.

²Read 710; see note 5 below.

³Kirakos, p. 393, describes more briefly the death of Zak'arē and that of his father Šah-n-šah from grief.

⁴For *šahanšah* as the title of the king of Ani, see Kirakos, p. 88, of Smbat II Bagratuni (whom Vardan, p. 90, had called *tiezerakal*, "master of the world"). For this title as used of the later lords of Ani, see above, p. 129.

⁵The significance of 700 seems to be based on the value of

give them rest like saints of God on God's Sabbath which is to come—these notable persons mentioned on that date, perfected in the prayers of all the saints.

95. In 711 the lord Nersēs, Catholicos of Aṭ-uank⁵, died of a painful dropsy, finding no remedy from doctors but only the remedy of immortal life,⁶ the one Lord Jesus, God. In him he died in great hope and with a worthy confession and testament, having lived his life in gentleness and compassion.⁷

(154) In 712 died in Christ the lord Yovhannēs called Tuec'i, the famous ascetic, worthy of the honorable ranks and callings to which the grace of God had summoned him: to the priesthood, to the rank of *vardapet*, and to the archbishopric of the house of Gardman and of other castles and provinces.¹ He was a man renowned and famous in the country, who passed the three fasts² without bread or water, and likewise Fridays and Wednesdays. He had gone to Jerusalem with bare feet; and the days of Lent he passed standing up without [eating] bread in the holy [church of the] Resurrection.³ He astonished the nation of Franks who were there, for he lived not only standing up and without food, but even in silence. And he sought from God clear belief in the report which circulated among the nations, that at the descent of the light it is the Armenian lamp that would light.⁴ As he

himself narrated: "He who guarded the cupola⁵ of the Holy Sepulcher loved us and cared for us, and we asked him for confirmation of these things. He said: 'Buy lamps, bring them, and hang them with your own hands.' This I did; I bought three lamps and hung them over the Holy Sepulcher, on the right in the name of the Franks, on the left in that of the Greeks, and in the middle for the Armenians, just as they were accustomed. We⁶ closed the door and sealed it. The guardian gave me the seal ring and the key on the day of Good Friday. On the day of Holy Saturday at the ninth hour while we were at prayer—the whole city and all the pilgrims who had come from afar—the guardian of the cupola said to me: 'Please, sir,⁷ open up, for the light has descended.' I went and opened, removing the seal. And in truth, without doubt, the middle lamp was alight and shining with ineffable beauty." Through this miracle that man lord Yovhannēs was glorified and made famous.

He himself also told this story: "I went to holy Bethlehem and saw there the images of the holy apostles painted on the wall of the church. In order to dishonor them the Muslims (*Tačik*) had dug out their eyes. (155) I was grieved at this, so I prayed to the holy apostles, begging them to reveal to me if it pleased them to be painted everywhere. When I returned to Jerusalem, that same night I saw in a vision two glorious men coming toward me. I went to meet them and said: 'Who are you, O saints of God?' They said: 'Peter and John. You begged us to disclose to you [our views] about the Christians' drawing us. It is not at all pleasing to us, and we are vexed. We indicate [this] everywhere, but they do not heed us.'"¹

The monk who accompanied him to Jerusalem also said that he came barefoot as far as that place. Then one day he summoned me and said: "See how my feet hurt and pain me." When I looked and examined the swellings with a needle, I found a sharp and thick piece of thorn with not a little pus coming out. Amazement seized me that he had

seven as a symbol of rest. Ten is a perfect number. For parallels in earlier Armenian authors, see R. W. Thomson, "Number Symbolism and Patristic Exegesis in Some Early Armenian Writers," *HA* 90 (1976), 117–38. Note that in Armenian "number" and "date" are the same word, *t'iw*.

⁶For this theme see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. *pharmakon*.

⁷Kirakos, p. 392, briefly describes the death of Nersēs of Aṭ-uank⁵, which he dates to 710.

¹Kirakos, p. 153, notes that Yovhannēs Tuec'i was archbishop of Samk'or, Gardman, Ergevan⁵, Tērunakan, Tawuš, and other regions; he praises his ascetic feats. Yovhannēs was a pupil of Vanakan's, and thus Vardan was familiar with him personally. There is a reference to Lord Yovhannēs Tuec'i at the monastery of Xoranašat (where Vanakan lived and died, opposite Ergevan⁵ and behind Gardman) in a colophon of 1224; see Yovsep'eanc⁵, *Yisatakarak⁵*, col. 840.

²*Fasts: yisnak*, the 50 days of Advent. Lent is normally *k'airasun*, "forty days," or *ahuhac'k'*, "salt and bread." The third fast is that between the Transfiguration and the Assumption.

³Kirakos does not describe the travels of Tuec'i, but he gives a long account of the travels of a contemporary, Yovhannēs Gar-nec'i, to the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and Mount Sinai, pp. 348–55. (For Armenian pilgrimage to the Sinai, see M. E. Stone, *The Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai* [Cambridge, Mass., 1982].)

⁴For the miraculous light on Holy Saturday and the various troubles between Greeks and Armenians over its appearance, see Sanjian, "Crazatik." Kirakos (see previous note) describes a

miraculous vision which confirmed the correctness of the Armenian date for the celebration of the Annunciation.

⁵*Cupola: kubay*, Arabic *qubba*, "domed shrine."

⁶The text here adds *t'ereus*, "perhaps"—which makes little sense.

⁷*Please, sir: Tēr, hramē*. If *tēr* is nominative and not vocative: "the Lord commands."

¹For Armenian attitudes to religious art, see S. Der Nersesian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle," in her *Byzantine and Armenian Studies* (Louvain, 1973), I, pp. 379–403; and idem, "Image Worship in Armenia and Its Opponents," *ibid.*, 405–15.

not revealed it until [we reached] that place; yet compared to the love of God and of the holy places he regarded the pain as nothing. Keeping on such a narrow² path until a great old age, he died in Christ in the famous monastery called the hermitage of Nor-Berd. He was buried in the portico (*duin*) of the church which he himself had built. Many other constructions and meritorious works he had laboriously effected, at the command of and with the willing help of Vasak the royal Bagratid.³ May his memory be preserved with blessing in the Catholic church, inextinguishable before God as a sweet odor for eternity.

96. In 713 the great Il-khan summoned us through a man called Šnorhawor,⁴ celebrated at that time by everyone and especially by the rulers, by Bat'u the governor of the North, where he went and was first honored, and then by the Il-khan Hulawu. (156) He brought at his own expense and on his own horses both us and the *vardapets* with us: our brothers Sargis and Grigor, and the archpriest of Tiflis Tērtēr.¹ We saw that great man on the important days of the beginning of the month and their year, in the month of July according to the Romans and of Arac' according to us. It was for them a period of joy lasting about one lunar [month]. They called those days *Xurult'ay*²—as celebrations in which participated the Il-khans related to Č'enkez-tan who had come to visit the great one. With all their nobles they all put on new clothes, each day changing into a different color, whatever they regarded as appropriate.

Also present were all their subjects with many notable gifts—kings and sultans, such as, in our sight, the king of Armenia, Het'um, and the king of Georgia, Dawit', and the prince of Antioch, and many sultans from the regions of Persia. At our audience they did not permit us to genuflect or to make obeisance according to their custom, on the

grounds that the Christians (*ark'awun*)³ only worship God. They had us bless wine, and took it from our hands. And the speech which he uttered was first this: "I have summoned you so that you might see me, and become acquainted with me, and pray for me from your hearts."⁴ And it is perhaps superfluous to write down all of the many things he said. We gave response, and they made us sit and gave us wine. The brothers who were with us sang a hymn; and the Georgians offered one of theirs, and the Syrians and Romans theirs. For on that day they saw people who had come from every region, with the result that the Il-khan said: "You only did I summon; what is this sign that not before and not later, but on the same day they came from all regions with you to see and bless me?" And he himself proposed: "It seems that it is a sign that God's heart is good toward me."

(157) We said: "We too¹ were seized by astonishment; the reason is what you said." Then he said: "I will have a private word with you." One day he made a great open space and removed far away all the army. With two men only he spoke with us for a long time. From his birth and through his mother, he said, he was a Christian. Although a nurse brought up the child, when he reached maturity he [still] loved his own mother. "We are not strangers to love of Christians; whatever you have to say, speak out." He had seized my hands, and we said what words God gave² us to speak: "The more superior you are to other men, the closer you are to God. The throne of God is established through righteous judgment. God has given to every nation dominion over the world. Up to you they were ravagers of the world and loaded the backs of the poor mercilessly. But they have died and weep before God. God took their power and gave it to another nation. If you care for the world and are merciful to the poor, God will not take it from you, but will leave with you what he has given; and what he wishes to give, that further he will give. Set

²*Narrow: neť.* Although there is here an allusion to Matt. 7:13 and 14, there may also be a pun: "pain" a few lines above renders *neťe*.

³Kirakos, p. 153, describes Nor Berd, built by Vasak, son of the Bagratid Dawit', with the assistance of Yovhannēs Tueci.

⁴Kirakos, p. 363, also refers to Šnorhawor—a rich man.

¹Tērtēr is a personal name, though in modern Armenian it can mean a priest. He is not attested elsewhere. Sargis and Grigor are very common Armenian names. Since they are called *vardapets* here, they may not be the same persons as the bishops of that name mentioned by Kirakos, p. 310, in the company of Vardan our author.

²*Xurult'ay*. For this Mongol term, glossed by Grigor of Akanc', ch. 4, as "assembly (*žotov*)," see Cleaves, pp. 442–43.

³*Ark'awun*: a Mongol term for Christians. To the references in Ač'aryan, *Etym. Dict.*, add the Colophon to T'.A., p. 321. See further N. Marr, "Ark'ayn, mongolskoe nazvanie Xristian," *VizVrem* 12 (1906), 1–68, and U. Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, ST 163 (Vatican City, 1952), p. 164.

⁴There are numerous colloquial forms of speech in the following conversations. For the use of *or* plus the subjunctive in purpose clauses, see Karst, §316. In the next speech, *or* introduces a noun clause.

¹*Too*: emending the printed *ayl* to *al*.

²*Gave: eret*, see Karst, §378.

such³ a man in your court as fears God and loves you; who will send back home happy the man who comes weeping in distress and who has no petition or bribe, yet recalls him to you. Let the world see such a man who sees clearly, is not blinded by bribes,⁴ and who says the truth to you.”

In such fashion we spoke much. He declared: “I have placed your words in my heart. How is it that you have spoken all that was in my heart and seemed good to me? God has spoken to you, has revealed it to you.” We said: “Not so. We are sinful men, but we have read the books of men to whom God spoke, and the hearts of kings are in God’s hand. God has revealed [this] to you without books.” Then we said: “Before God I have one speech to make, which God hears and then you, in which there is no falsehood.” (158) He commanded: “Speak.” I said: “As many Christians there are, and *ark’awun*, by sea and land, the heart of each one is well disposed toward you and they pray for you.” He declared: “I believe that this is so. But [if] the *ark’awun* are not on God’s path, what prayers do they make for me; and if they do, when will God listen? Can a wretched *ark’awun* bring God from heaven to earth, or not? You said that they live on God’s path and pray. Our brothers are in conflict with us over this, that we respect Christians and there are Christians in our house. They love the Muslims (*Tačik*) and there are Muslims in their house.”

Then he said to us: “Why are you dressed in a sheepskin and not gold?” When he learned that we were not a great man or a lord of rank, but a mere monk, he declared: “I shall honor you with a garment of gold and give you much gold.” We said: “Gold and earth are one to us. We desire a different benefit, which is appropriate to your majesty—mercy for the world.” He declared: “I shall tie up a purse of very little money, merely as much as you would pay for incense for the church, so that there is no land where they say: ‘How did the Il-khan provide for him?’ What you said I shall do, and I shall send men who will oversee the world.”

Now when we desired permission to leave, he summoned us and spoke with us. In his hand he held a *balış*,¹ and he had had two garments sewn. We reminded [him]: “Il-khan, your money can be

exhausted and your garment wear out. We requested gifts that are inexhaustible and unwearing.” He declared: “Yesterday I carried out your words. I have had a decree² written. Have it read and whatever your heart needs in addition, have that also written. (159) To Saxalt’u and to Šahabatin I have entrusted your land and your persons; whatever you say, they will do.” We thanked him and left. Perhaps we seem to be writing this at a redundant length, but we have set it down as an aid to recalling the benevolent and kind-tempered great Hulawu, or as an example to others who may come after us—who knows?

97. At the beginning of the year 714 of the Armenian era the final summons reached that great man, and broke the staff of the powerful, valiant, and victorious Hulawu.¹ The sentence of his ancestor came upon him. For he too was a son of Adam, who drank from the cup from which everyone has drunk or will drink. Although it was bitter for him, he drank the gall of death—not happily like the Lord and those who have believed in him. For he was deceived by the astrologers and priests of some images called Šakmonia, who has been, they say, God for 3,040 years. He will still have another 35 tomans, a toman being 10,000. Then, they say, another Mondri will carry him away. They called Toyin² those priests in whom he believed and at whose command he went out to war, or did not go out. They said: “You will long remain in your body, and when you attain a great old age, you will put on another new body.” They had him build a temple for those images. He used to go there to pray, and they worked whatever witchcraft they desired on him.³

While we were hoping for another time, for a second visit and greater acquaintance in order to address appropriate words to him—and we trusted by means of kind and Christian behavior to show him some sign from God that would help the Christians and to speak to him with confidence, for he had been instructed in their sayings—he fell ill.

²Decree: *airlex*, i.e., “yarliq”; see Blake and Frye, *Gregory of Akanc*, p. 387 note 34.

¹714 began on January 14, 1265. Kirakos also ends his *History* with the death of Hulagu. “Broke the staff”; cf. Jer. 48:17.

²*Šakmonia . . . Toyin*. Vardan follows Kirakos, pp. 371–72, for this passage. See the comments on the Mongol practices and beliefs in Boyle, 1964.

³See Kirakos, pp. 397–98, for the temples for idols and Hulagu’s interest in magic.

³*Such*: *henc*, see Karst, §308.

⁴A common biblical theme; e.g., Deut. 16:19; Sirach 20:31.

¹*Bališ*. A term of Turkish origin which refers to a gold or silver coin. See Ačaryan, *Etym. Dict.*, s.v.

(160) They made felt images and horses speak;¹ and the art of deceit and magic was widespread among them. They were modest in food and clothing and virginity, and moderate in marriage and intercourse. Taking a wife at twenty years, they say, until thirty years old they have intercourse three times a week; from then to forty years, three times a month; from then until fifty, three times a year; beyond that, they say, one should not approach [one's wife] at all.² Thereby they were especially able to wage war.³

Meanwhile the final moment came. Death trampled with wide foot that high hill, cast him down and made him equal to his ancestors. "For the hill which is to topple, will fall," says scripture.⁴ And the saying of the prophet was confirmed: "All the glory of man is as a flower of grass."⁵ But the Lord is reliable and just⁶ to compensate him for that part of the good which he has acquired by the laws of nature and by keeping their own patrimonial [laws]. For the *yasax*, as they called the code established by Č'ankez-tan, is not to tell falsehood, not to steal, not to have intercourse with another's wife, to love each other as oneself, not to use or even know insults, to spare land and city that willingly submits, to leave free of taxation the houses of God and their designated servants, whatever they might be, and to respect them.⁷ This he ordered to be observed, and he observed it [himself]. But we also remember what he said: "We command [you] to pray for us, not to be spared from death—that we do not know—but ask God that we die not at the hands of our enemies."

If that was accomplished, God [only] knows. For at first they reported that he was murdered by poison and deceit. But later they covered up the story.⁸ However, the great queen called Toľuz Xat'un, before the news of his death was announced, sent to us secretly that: "God loved the Il-khan and has led him away. And as he loved him

here and had given him this world, likewise now he had given him that world. (161) Should there be a liturgy or not?" We said: "It is not right to celebrate a liturgy, but effect mercy and an alleviation of taxes." For the Syrians had said it [a liturgy] was appropriate. She also asked about Apaľay, who was Hulawu's eldest son, whether he should be installed, since he had made a will in his favor. We declared that it is [ordained] by the scriptures to appoint the eldest, and the testament is irrevocable by definition¹—which indeed took place. Their relative Takuťar, also called Ayl-tan, went and installed Apaľay, called to the throne and rank of his father. All the army consented and submitted.²

But since our sins were numberless, there was no limit to mourning. For three months after that very date, the pious queen Toľuz Xat'un died in Christ.³ The Christian nations were heartbroken with manifold distress and grief. For during her lifetime the wound of the Ayl-tan had suddenly begun to heal, as he hoped for the greater glory of Christianity. Because as much as there was a cause, it was indeed she, according to our opinion. But since God is the cause of all blessings, it is not right for us to despair. For he appointed in her place another Christian relative of hers, a pious woman called T'uxt'ani. There was brought from Greece for Apaľay a wife called Despina, daughter of the king whom they call Vatatzes.⁴ She ordered that Apaľay be baptized, and then she would accept him. So the report went out that he was baptized and then married her, to the glory of Christ.

In those days, because of our sins this book fell into the hands of bandits (*harami*),⁵ with our servants. By the mercy of Jesus the young men were saved at the time; a year and a half later this book was brought to the market in Tiflis and bought by one called Meler from the house of our brother.⁶ For which reason may there be glory to the Lord's mercy among all the saints and creation, and for the buyer pity from Christ.

¹For the felt images see also Ishok's supplement to the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, Langlois, p. 375.

²Vardan follows Kirakos, p. 372, for this passage on the Mongol's sexual habits.

³*Wage war*. The Venice text has *xabel*, "to deceive." Dulaurier, "Les Mongols," reads *baxal*, "to wage war." A reference to the Mongols' martial prowess seems more relevant here.

⁴Job 14:18.

⁵Is. 40:6.

⁶Cf. 1 John 1:9.

⁷For the Mongol law code, see the examples in Grigor of Akanc', ch. 2; and for the word (here *asax*), Blake and Frye, p. 384 note 6.

⁸Neither Grigor of Akanc' nor Kirakos refers to the possibility of poison or to the cover-up.

¹By definition: because "testament" in Armenian is *andarj*, here interpreted as *an-darj*, "which cannot be turned back" (though this is not the real etymology; see Nyberg, *Glossary*, p. 94).

²See also Kirakos, p. 398; Grigor of Akanc', ch. 14. Abaqa was Il-khan from 1265 to 1281.

³Kirakos, p. 398.

⁴Apatay's wife was an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologus, emperor 1259–82. (John Ducas Vatatzes was Michael's father-in-law.)

⁵*Bandits*: *harami*, an Arabic term.

⁶Meler is otherwise unattested.

98. (162) Now at the beginning of the year 715 the governor of the North called Bark'a, who held the position of Bat'u and of Sardax and belonged to the religion of the Muslims (*Tačik*), on hearing of the death of the great Hulawu came with a host along the river Kura, and showed himself to the army of Apałay and of his brother Ismudin on this side, as being alive after the death of his father. He came and trampled on them, then confidently [went off] on a pilgrimage¹ in order to pray there—to the joy of all Muslims. Those on this side, terrified of him, walled the length of the river with a palisade,² and kept watch in full preparation during the winter days. But Bark'a, deprived of his aim, returned to his own residence, and died in the summer. They say that in behavior he was not turbulent, and hated bloodshed.

99. In that same year, near to the autumn season there was opened for us a cruel and bitter vessel, and the lees of God's anger [fell on] our Armenian nation. For the sultan of Egypt called P'ntxtar³ demanded the castles which Het'um, the king of Armenia, had taken with the T'at'ars' support. When he did not give them up, notably because of his fear of the T'at'ars, he was greatly enraged. Gathering a vast army under a general named Smlmōt', he sent it against Cilicia. Unexpectedly entering that land, he captured the capital city Sis, the royal residence, burned it and the churches there, discovered the underground treasure vault, and took off a vast amount. They said that in one vessel [alone] there were 600,000 red [gold coins].⁴

(163) He extended his ravages as far as Adana; then hearing news of danger, he returned with booty and 40,000 captives, apart from those slaughtered. Among the killed the foremost mortally wounded was the king's son, T'oros, in the flower of his youth, whose beard was about to blossom; as testified by every mouth, he lacked no virtue, preserving in virginity the generosity of God's

grace. Willingly he faced the crown of blood. For when asked who he was, he did not give his father's name lest, being captured alive, there be an even greater burden on his father and the country, with his elder brother Leo who had been crowned and raised to the royal throne during his father's lifetime. [Leo] was the foremost of our captives;¹ it was a pitiable flame, tormenting the soul² and breaking the heart of our land and nation; our breath was stopped and we trembled. But the hand of the Highest which struck in anger, also heals in pity, covering the open wound, restoring the captive whom they had taken away with the others. [Baibars] lingered for fifteen days, filling the land with disaster—they with real woes, and us with the poignant news.

100. When the year 716 of our era began, at the end of the forty days of Lent, when the sixth week was completed, on the day of the resurrection of Lazarus, on the 26th of the month Sahmi,³ the lord Kostandin, patriarch of Armenia, was transferred from this physical world to the spiritual one, at an old age and full of days in the flesh and especially in the Spirit and according to the will of God.⁴ Chosen from the womb,⁵ he had progressed through all ranks, pleasing in every way and acclaimed by all nations and tongues. In virginity he remained incorruptible in the spiritual and physical man, in feelings and in the senses, in all limbs of the body. He was sympathetic, one who shared our nation's travail and grief in this sinful age afflicted with anger. In painful times of anguish he took everything upon himself and as best he could lightened it, expending heart, word, and treasure liberally and unstintingly. (164) Therefore it is appropriate for him to say to his Lord: "We have passed through the fire and water of various trials, of snares that burn and strangle."¹ Indeed he tasted of the thick and bitter final dregs, near the end of his life, like the Lord—the tottering of our kingdom, the sword and captivity of his own land, where he had been born and raised. He experi-

¹*Pilgrimage*: *hžč*. This is more likely to be the Arabic *hajj* than a place name otherwise unknown.

²*Palisade*: *sibar*. For this term see the discussion of the whole paragraph in M. Canard, "A propos de la traduction d'un passage de l'histoire universelle de Vardan," *REArm* 5 (1968), 315–22.

³This is Baybars. For the invasion of Armenia in 1266, see Grigor of Akanc', ch. 14, and Smbat, pp. 245–49.

⁴The printed text reads 600,000; but the editor (Ališan) notes that the MSS read *k, ž, ĭ* = 6,000,000. Grigor of Akanc' merely says that much treasure was taken; Smbat refers to plunder and prisoners without number.

¹Grigor of Akanc', p. 359, indicates that T'oros was killed and Levon captured before the "Turks" knew who they were. See also Smbat, p. 247.

²*Soul*: lit. "liver," the seat of feelings and passions.

³I.e., April 9, A.D. 1267.

⁴For the death of Constantine, "full of days," see also Grigor of Akanc', ch. 14. Smbat, p. 251, refers to the council held at Sis in 717 to choose a new patriarch, but does not explicitly refer to Constantine's death.

⁵Cf. Is. 46:3, of Israel.

¹Cf. Ps. 65:11–12.

enced the trial and the furnace of the fiery flame of gehenna, the destruction of the king's sons whom he had nourished. They in particular brought close his final day and caused the an-

guished pressure of his breath, firing his thirst for release from this troubled life. May his Jesus and God look on him, and draw him with Lazarus out of such torments in hell to the ineffable [paradise].

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